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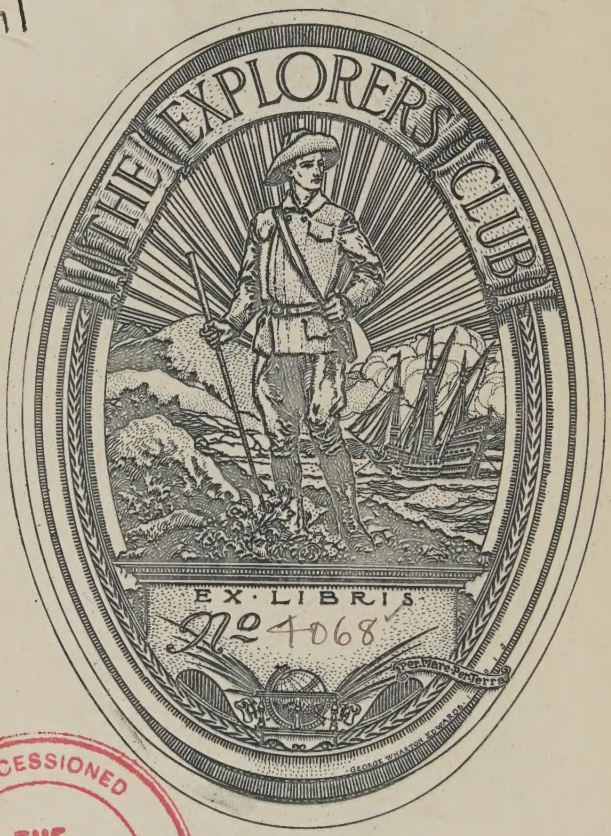

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Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume IX.

COLUMBUS:
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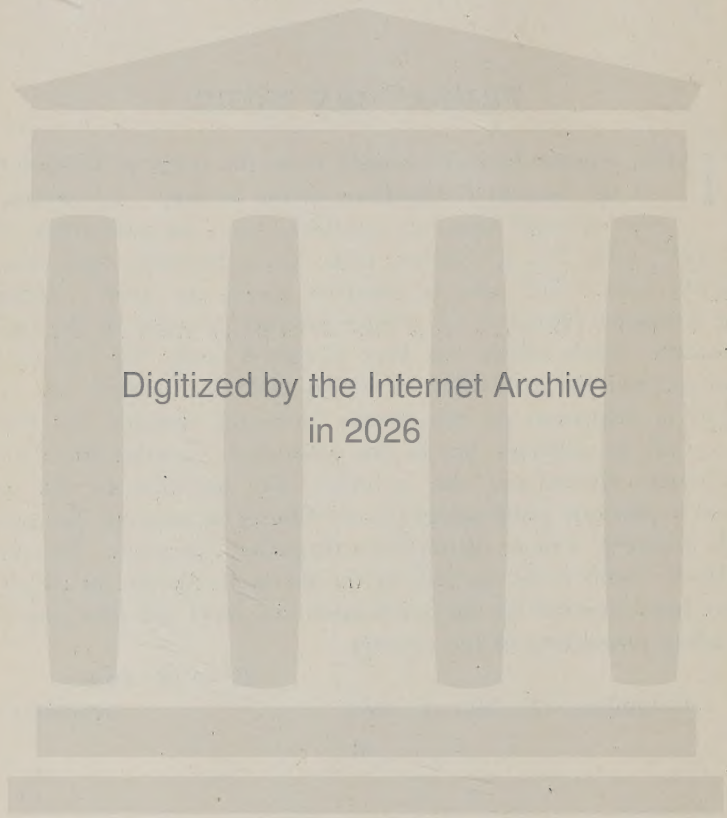
PREFATORY NOTE.

THE volume herewith issued from the press is Volume IX of the Annual Publications of the Society. It consists of the material issued in quarterly form, as quarterlies, No. 1, July, 1900, No. 2, October, 1900, No. 3, January, 1901, No. 4, April, 1901. The table of contents speaks for itself. Perhaps no previous volume is of greater interest or value in the topics treated. Each article has been prepared solely for this publication, and the estimation in which these publications are now held is evidenced by the greatly increased demand for them, not only by scholars, but by the Historical Societies and Public Libraries throughout the country. The addition to the past year's quarterly publications of an editorial department, has given the quarterly a more distinctively magazine character. This new feature seems to be justified by the favorable manner in which it has been received by the publications of other societies and the leading magazines of the country.

E. O. RANDALL,
Secretary.

Columbus, O., May 1, 1901.



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cahontas coursed through their veins. This is the most noted instance of that kind, but many other Indian women are known to have performed equally noble and worthy deeds as those accredited to Pocahontas, which were followed by great and lasting results for the good of humanity and civilization.

The great conspiracy of Pontiac in 1763, which was no less comprehensive in its scope than the complete extermination of the white settlers and the white race in the entire northwest territory, was defeated by an Indian woman, who revealed the secret plans of Pontiac to Major Gladwyn, who was then in command of the fort at what is now the City of Detroit. Pontiac's plan was to obtain entrance to the fort for himself and a large number of warriors with concealed weapons under the pretense of a friendly conference and then massacre the officers and soldiers of the garrison. This fort was the key to the situation, and had it fallen, as eight of the twelve forts attacked did fall, it is far more than probable that the dreadful purposes of Pontiac would have, at least in a great measure, succeeded, and would have worked great and permanent changes in the history of the settlement of all the territory of the great northwest. These are but single instances of Indian heroineism, which might be indefinitely extended; but this is not our purpose at present. Our present purpose is simply to call attention to the singular fact that the white race has almost entirely failed of effort to preserve or commemorate the names or mark the resting places of even the most noted and illustrious of the Indian race; although as to many of them the white man is under the highest and most sacred obligations. We have possessed ourselves of the vast continent which they once occupied and have practically extinguished the race, and yet have made comparatively no effort to perpetuate their history, or place monuments to the memory of even their greatest chiefs. The names of their warriors have fallen into our history as necessary part of the narrative, with little or no purpose to perpetuate their fame or celebrate their virtues. We erect all kinds of monuments to our real, and too often our imaginary, heroes, but there has been almost an entire neglect and failure of intentional purpose to recognize the worth and character of the heroes of the red race by our people. That

such a man as Chief Crane (Tarhe) should be without a suitable monument seems almost incredible, in view of his long honorable and useful life and his many virtues, and especially his great services to both races for their good. I have seen and talked with several persons who knew Chief Crane in his lifetime, and all testify to his high and honorable character, as well as to his great common sense and goodness of heart. General William Henry Harrison, who had the widest and most accurate acquaintance with, and knowledge of, the Indians of the northwest territory of any man of his time, gives his high endorsement as to the honor and worth of this great and good chief, with whom he was intimately acquainted. In his report made to the Secretary of War, March 22, 1814, he says:

"The Wyandots of Sandusky have adhered to us throughout the war. Their chief, the Crane, is a venerable, intelligent and upright man."

At another time, while speaking highly of several important chiefs with whom he had been largely in contact, he designated Chief Crane as "the noblest of them all."

Mr. Walker, a half-blood Wyandot and a well educated and intelligent man, who was born at Upper Sandusky in 1801, and who went with his tribe when they removed to the territory of Kansas, of which he became its first territorial governor, has left a sketch of Chief Crane, which was published in the "Wyandot Democrat" under the date of August 13, 1866. In that sketch he says:

"When in his prime he must have been a lithe, wiry man, capable of great endurance, as he marched on foot at the head of his warriors through the whole of General Harrison's campaign into Canada and was an active participant in the Battle of the Thames, although seventy-two years of age. He steadily and unflinchingly opposed Tecumseh's war policy from 1808 up to the breaking out of the War of 1812. He maintained inviolate the treaty of peace concluded with General Wayne in 1795 (the Treaty of Greenville). This brought him into conflict with the ambitious Shawnee (Tecumseh), the latter having no regard for the plighted faith of his predecessors. But Tarhe determined to maintain that of his and remained true to the Amer-

ican cause until the day of his death. He was a man of mild aspect, and gentle in his manners when at repose, but when acting publicly exhibited great energy, and when addressing his people there was always something that to my youthful ear sounded like stern command. He never drank spirits; never used tobacco in any form.

"His Indian name is supposed to mean crane (the tall fowl); but this is a mistake. Crane is merely a sobriquet bestowed upon him by the French, thus: 'Le chef Grue,' or 'Monsieur Grue,' the Chief Crane, of Mr. Crane. This nickname was bestowed upon him on account of his height and slender form. He had no English name, but the Americans took up and adopted the French nickname. Tarhe or Tarhee, when critically analyzed means, *At him, the tree, or at the tree* the tree personified. Thus you have in this one word a preposition, a personal pronoun, a definite article and a noun. The name of your populous township should be Tarhe instead of Crane. It is due to the memory of that great and good man."

Chief Crane was born near Detroit in 1742. He belonged to the Porcupine tribe of the Wyandots and from the time that he was old enough to be counted as a warrior he participated in all the battles of his tribe down to the battle of "Fallen Timbers", in 1794. He was with Cornstalk at the bloody battle of Point Pleasant, West Virginia, which took place October 10, 1774. General Harrison, when a young officer in the United States army, was engaged in the battle of "Fallen Timbers" under General Wayne, August, 1794, where the Indians were disastrously defeated. In an address delivered by him before the Historical Society of Cincinnati, 1839, in speaking of the Indian tribes engaged in that battle, he says of the Wyandots:

"Their youths were taught to consider anything that had the appearance of the acknowledgment of the superiority of an enemy as disgraceful. In the battle of the Miami Rapids (Fallen Timbers), of thirteen chiefs of that tribe who were present, only one survived and he was badly wounded."

The wounded chief was undoubtedly Chief Crane, who was badly wounded in the arm at that battle, but escaped with his life.

Jeremiah Armstrong, who lived in Franklinton and Columbus from its earliest settlement to 1859 and was well known to all the older residents, has left an interesting narrative of his experience while a prisoner with the Indians, during which time he saw much of Chief Crane. Armstrong was born in Washington county, Maryland, March, 1785, but his parents removed to Virginia, opposite the upper end of Blennerhasset's Island, prior to 1794. In April of that year he and his older brother and sister were captured and carried into Ohio by the Indians of the Wyandot tribe. His mother and other members of the family, except his father, were murdered. In their retreat they passed the points of Lancaster, Columbus, Upper Sandusky and on to Lower Sandusky at the mouth of the Sandusky River and Lake Erie. In his narrative he says:

"On arriving at Lower Sandusky, before entering the town, they halted and formed a procession for Cox (a fellow prisoner), my sister, my brother and myself to run the gauntlet. They pointed to the house of their chief, Old Crane, about a hundred yards distant, signifying that we should run into it. We did so, and were received very kindly by the old chief; he was a very mild man, beloved by all."

In speaking of the battle of "Fallen Timbers," he says:

"In the month of August, 1794, when I had been a prisoner about four months, General Wayne conquered the Indians in that decisive battle on the Maumee (Fallen Timbers). Before the battle, the squaws and children were sent to Lower Sandusky. Runners were sent from the scene of action to inform us of their defeat, and to order us to Sandusky Bay. They supposed that Wayne would come with his forces and massacre the whole of us. Great was the consternation and confusion; and I (strange infatuation), thinking their enemies mine, ran and got into a canoe, fearing they would go and leave me at the mercy of the palefaces. We all arrived safe at the bay; and there the Indians conveyed their wounded—Old Crane among the number. He was wounded in the arm; and my friend, the one that saved my life, was killed."

This would seem to definitely determine that it was Chief Crane to whom General Harrison referred as the only chief of

the Wyandots who escaped death at that battle, but "was badly wounded." The full narrative of Jeremiah Armstrong, written by himself in 1858, appears in Martin's History of Franklin County. He always retained until his death a great reverence and affection for Chief Crane.

It may be safely said of Crane that he was the most influential chief in bringing about the celebrated Treaty of Greenville. He had the discernment to see that the battle of "Fallen Timbers" had broken the military power of the Indians of the northwest, and that peace was the only safety for his tribe and race; so he made haste to have the principal tribes with whom he had influence make a preliminary agreement of peace with General Wayne, and thus suspend hostilities until the general treaty could be made, embracing all the tribes. Accordingly on January 24, 1795, the principal chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawattomies, Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares and Wyandots entered into a preliminary agreement with General Wayne at Greenville, Ohio, to suspend hostilities "until articles for a permanent peace shall be adjusted, agreed to and signed." It was further agreed that "the aforesaid sachems and war chiefs for and on behalf of their nations which they represent, do agree to meet the above named plenipotentiary of the United States at Greenville on or about the 15th day of June, next; with all the sachems and war chiefs of their nations then and there to consult and conclude upon such terms of amity and peace as shall be for the interest and to the satisfaction of both parties."

This led to the celebrated and most important Treaty of Greenville, concluded August 3, 1795, in the bringing about of which no chief or warrior was so influential as Chief Crane. There were many turbulent and vindictive chiefs and warriors of the various tribes who opposed the treaty and desired to continue their wars and forays against the white settlers, and it was a delicate and difficult task to overcome and satisfy their objections; and this could probably not have been accomplished, except by the strong influence and persuasive arguments of Chief Crane. Other influential chiefs and warriors joined with him in his efforts, but he was the central and controlling source of influence and power. It is now a matter of history that with

the exception of the wars and disturbances excited by the restless and turbulent Tecumseh and his associates, resulting in what is called the War of 1812, the Treaty of Greenville ended the long and bloody strife between the red and white race in the northwest territory.

Most of the tribes who were parties to that treaty remained ever true to its conditions, notwithstanding the baneful influence of Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, and other turbulent spirits, who were for years industriously endeavoring to create a hostile feeling among the Indians, and did draw away many of them to their great detriment and injury. Chief Crane, however, with many other important chiefs, remained true to their treaty obligations, and greatly hindered and balked the schemes of the restless and ambitious Tecumseh.

On June 21, 1813, Crane, at the head of about fifty chiefs and warriors, met in conference with General Harrison at the town of Franklinton (now Columbus), when he, as their only spokesman, assured General Harrison that they would remain true to their treaty obligations, and if necessary join with him in the prosecution of the war against Tecumseh and the English under General Proctor. This assurance was of the greatest possible benefit and advantage to General Harrison at that critical period of the war and enabled him to use his forces with greater effect.

Chief Crane died at the Indian village of Crane Town, near Upper Sandusky, in Wyandot county, Ohio, in November, 1818, being at that time seventy-six years of age.

Col. John Johnston, then United States Indian Agent, was present at the funeral ceremonials. In his "Recollections" he says:

"I was invited to attend a general council of all the tribes of Ohio, the Delawares of Indiana, and the Senecas of New York, at Upper Sandusky. I found on arriving at that place a very large attendance. Among the chiefs was the noted leader and orator Red Jacket, from Buffalo. The first business done was the speaker of the nation delivering an oration on the character of the deceased chief. Then followed what might be called a monody or ceremony of mourning and lamentation. Thus

seats were arranged from end to end of the large council house, about six feet apart. The head men and the aged took their seats facing each other, stooping down their heads almost touching. In this position they remained several hours. Deep, heavy and long continued groans were commenced at one end of the row of the mourners and were passed around until all had responded and these repeated at intervals of a few minutes. The Indians were all washed and had no paint or decorations of any kind upon their person, their countenance and general deportment denoting the deepest mourning. I had never witnessed anything of the kind and was told this ceremony was not performed but upon the decease of some great man."

Crane was the chief sachem of the Wyandots, to which tribe was intrusted the grand *calumet* which bound the tribes north of the Ohio in a confederation for mutual benefit and protection. He was therefore at the time of his death and for many years before, the leading and principal representative of his race in the northwest. Aside from his own tribe his death was mourned by the Shawnees, Delawares, Senecas, Ottawas, Mohawks and Miamis assembled for that purpose. Perhaps no chief in the history of the Indian race had more numerous or more sincere mourners at his grave, and yet, although but little more than eighty years have passed since his death, his grave is not only unmarked, but unknown.

It is not fitting or seemly that his name should be allowed to be forgotten and his memory perish. He was a wise and good man and an honorable chief, well known to the early settlers in central Ohio, many of whom were honored by his friendship and all benefited by his influence. From the time of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 to the time of his death in 1818, a period of almost a quarter of a century, during which time the early settlements in central Ohio were made, he was more than any other chief of his time the rock of security and safety of the white settlers. He frequently visited Franklinton and was the friend of Lucas Sullivant and his associates, who, in the last years of the last century, founded what is now the City of Columbus. He often maintained his camp for considerable periods at the celebrated Wyandot Spring, on the west bank of the

Scioto, eight miles north of Columbus, at what is now known as Wyandot Grove. In September, 1883, the late Abraham Sells, then owner of the Wyandot Grove and Spring, pointed out to Col. Samuel Thompson and the writer the spot near the spring where Chief Crane maintained his camp. It would seem most fitting and proper that so good and honorable a man, although he belonged to a race whom we are usually pleased to call savages, should have his memory perpetuated as far as possible by an enduring monument. This is a duty which the white race owes to one of the best representatives of a race which has passed away and whose territory we have taken for permanent occupation.

KEOKUK MONUMENT.

KEOKUK.

As far as we know, or have been able to ascertain, but four monuments have been erected in this country by white men with the view of perpetuating the memory of Indian chiefs or warriors. The first in order of time was erected at Keokuk, Iowa, in memory of Chief Keokuk, for whom that important city was named. It was completed in 1886. Kee-o-kuk (Keokuk) (the Watchful Fox) was born at Rock River, Illinois, about 1780. He was of three-quarter Indian blood, his father being one-half-blood French and his mother a full-blood Sac.

He was not a chief by birth, but became chief of his tribe by reason of his own talents and efforts. He was brave and skillful in war and possessed of the gift of oratory in an unusual degree. He is said to have been vain and mercenary, but he had the high courage to withstand and in a large measure thwart the schemes and purposes of the sullen and gloomy Black Hawk, who was also a Sac chief of great ability and influence with both the Sac and the Fox nations.

Chief Keokuk sustained almost precisely the same relation to Black Hawk in 1832 that Crane had sustained to Tecumseh twenty years before. Crane and other well-disposed chiefs restrained a large majority of the Indians of the northwest from engaging in the War of 1812; and Keokuk did the same in 1832 as to the Sac and Fox nations, then living along the Mississippi in Iowa and Illinois. The restless nature of many of the warriors of those tribes had been greatly worked upon by Black Hawk and his co-agitators, and it required the most heroic efforts to bring them to reason and restrain them from war. To this task Keokuk proved himself equal. He called a council of the warriors of the Sac and Fox nations, and when they were assembled spoke to them as follows:

"Braves, I am your chief. It is my duty to rule you as a father at home, and to lead you to war if you are determined to go; but in this war there is no middle course. The United States is a great power, and unless we conquer that great nation we must perish. I will lead you instantly against the whites on one condition—that is, that we shall first put all our women and children to death and then resolve that, having crossed the Mississippi, we shall never return, but perish among the graves of our fathers rather than yield to the white man."

It would be difficult to find in all oratory more heroic words or more determined sentiments than these; and they had the desired effect on the minds of a large majority of the assembled warriors and influenced them to abandon their war purposes. A small number, however, adhered to Black Hawk, and with him crossed the Mississippi into Illinois and began their foray but were soon subdued and Black Hawk himself made a prisoner.

Although this raid of Black Hawk and his followers was of short duration, for the time it greatly disturbed the settlers in northern and western Illinois, and was remarkable for the number of distinguished men that it called into active service for its suppression. Among those who served either as regulars in the army of the United States or as officers of volunteers were

BLACK HAWK.

DRESSED IN A MILITARY SUIT GIVEN TO HIM BY PRESIDENT JACKSON IN 1832, WHEN IN WASHINGTON.

Major-General Winfield Scott, General Atkinson, President Zachariah Taylor, Major-General Robert Anderson, General Jefferson Davis, General David Hunter and Abraham Lincoln. These are some of the most distinguished names in our national history. After the capture of Black Hawk, Jefferson Davis, then a young lieutenant in the United States Army, was appointed to take him and other prisoners to Washington and thence to

Fortress Monroe, where he was confined for a time as a prisoner of war, and where Jefferson Davis himself, thirty-three years later, was confined for a time for treason against his country.

Subsequent to the Black Hawk War, Keokuk removed with his tribe from Iowa to the territory of Kansas, where he died in 1848. A marble slab was placed over his grave, which marked the place of his burial until 1883 when his remains were exhumed and brought back to the City of Keokuk by a committee of citizens appointed for that purpose (Dr. J. M. Shaffer and Judge C. F. Davis), and interred in the public park, where a splendid and durable monument was erected by voluntary contribution to designate the final resting place of this noted chief.

In addition to this commendable act on the part of the citizens of Keokuk, a further lasting mark of respect has been paid to him by placing a bronze bust of him in the marble room of the United States Senate at Washington.

There is also a portrait of Keokuk painted by George Catlin in 1832, now in the Smithsonian Institution, having been placed there in 1879 through the generous donation of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, of Philadelphia, who became the owner of the entire "Catlin Collection," including the portrait of Keokuk. There are about three hundred portraits of Indians in this collection, all of which were donated by Mrs. Harrison to the Smithsonian Institution, and more than any one collection now existing preserves the features and dress of the Indian race.

The splendid collection of portraits of Indian chiefs and warriors painted by that celebrated artist, Charles B. King, and secured by the war department about 1830, known as the "King Collection," consisting of one hundred and forty-seven portraits, was destroyed by the disastrous fire which occurred in the Smithsonian Institute January 24, 1865. The celebrated "Stanley Gallery," almost if not quite equally as valuable, was destroyed at the same time. These were two of the most important collections of Indian portraits ever painted and in their destruction the features of many noted chiefs and warriors were lost and can never be correctly restored. The first named of these collections belonged to the government, but the "Stanley Gal-

lery" was Mr. Stanley's private property, temporarily deposited in the Smithsonian Institute.

The efforts to collect galleries of portraits of representatives of the Indian race have been singularly unfortunate. The late P. T. Barnum made a special effort to collect a gallery of the portraits of noted members of the Indian race, and he succeeded through many years of effort in collecting one of the finest galleries of portraits of the red race that has ever been gotten together. Many distinguished artists contributed their best efforts upon portraits which became the property of Mr. Barnum. The collection was destroyed by fire, along with his entire museum, at the corner of Ann street and Broadway in the City of New York, July 13, 1865, just six months after the destruction of the King and Stanley collections in the Smithsonian Institute fire. Thus the three finest collections of Indian portraits in existence were destroyed within six months. The "Catlin Gallery," the most extensive and valuable of any now in existence, passed through two fires and was greatly damaged, but not entirely destroyed, and the damage has in large measure been repaired.

This collection has had a singular history. The portraits were all the work of Mr. Catlin himself, who was a most indefatigable artist. His collection was first exhibited in New York, Philadelphia and Boston in the years 1837, 1838 and 1839. In 1840 he took it to London, where it was on exhibition in various cities in England until 1844. He then took it to Paris, where it was on exhibition until 1848, when he was compelled to leave Paris on account of the revolution occurring in that year. He took his collection back to London, where it remained on exhibition until 1852, when Mr. Catlin came to financial ruin through unfortunate speculations. The collection was seized to satisfy creditors and finally fell into the hands of Mr. Joseph Harrison, Jr., a wealthy and cultivated gentleman of Philadelphia, who had generously assisted Mr. Catlin in his financial distress. Subsequently Mr. Harrison had the collection boxed and shipped back to Philadelphia, where it was stored in various warehouses and remained neglected and forgotten for twenty-five years and until 1879, when it was brought to light in a

damaged condition. In the meantime Mr. Harrison had died and when the collection was discovered Mrs. Harrison made a gift of it to the Nation and it was placed in the Smithsonian Institute, and is now the only important collection of original portraits of Indians in existance.

But Keokuk has received a more noble and enduring monument than canvas or marble could secure. On the west bank of the Mississippi River, at its junction with the Des Moines River, on an elevated bluff overlooking the magnificent valleys of both rivers and commanding a view of the territory of the three great states of Iowa, Illinois and Missouri, stands the beautiful and important City of Keokuk, named for this noted chief. This city, where his ashes now repose, was the center of the territory originally occupied by the Sac and Fox nations, of which he was the most celebrated chief. The citizens of Keokuk have surely done themselves honor in honoring as they have the name and memory of a man who was the best representative of the race that preceded them in the occupancy of that portion of the country.

LEATHERLIPS.

The next monument in the order of time, erected to the memory of an Indian chief, was that of Leatherlips (Sha-tey-ya-ron-yah), on the spot where he was executed by people of his own race, June 1, 1810. The exact spot is on the east bank of the Scioto River in the extreme northwest corner of Perry township, Franklin county, Ohio, about fifteen miles northwest from the City of Columbus. This chief was in camp there at the time, accompanied only by one of the hunters of his tribe, when six Indians, supposed to be of the Wyandots of Detroit, led by Round Head, suddenly appeared at his camp and informed him that he had been tried and found guilty of witchcraft and sentenced to death. Resistance was useless and he submitted to his fate with dignity and fortitude. His execution was witnessed by William Sells, a white man, and a graphic account of the dreadful occurrence has been published in the "Hesperian" by Ottaway Curry, one of the editors of that publication, who obtained the account from Mr. Sells. It was also published in

Drake's Life of Tecumseh, and again quoted in an historical address by Col. Samuel Thompson, of Columbus, Ohio, before the Wyandot Club at the Wyandot Grove, September 18, 1887, and has been widely published in other ways. Where the pretended trial for witchcraft was had is not known; but it was the general belief that the whole plan for the taking off of this old chief was devised by Tens-kwan-ta-waw (the Prophet),

CHIEF LEATHERLIPS (SHA TEY-YA-RON-YAH).

brother of Tecumseh, who had his headquarters at that time on the Tippecanoe River in northern Indiana. He was at that time endeavoring to incite discontent among the Indians and to lead them into war. He was constantly being visited by discontented and evil-minded Indians from the various tribes, and among them some of the Wyandots from about Detroit, and it was supposed that from there the party came through the wilderness and found Leatherlips at his temporary camp on the Scioto.

The real cause of his taking off was that he was firmly opposed to the plans of Tecumseh and the Prophet, and with Crane and other well-disposed chiefs was holding the Wyandots of Ohio in the lines of peace and keeping them steadfast in the observance of their treaty obligations.

The execution of Leatherlips at that particular point has accidentally associated his name with another name of great and permanent historic interest. About the middle of the last century there was born of a noble Lithuanian family a Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciusko, whose name will be forever held dear by liberty-loving people everywhere, and especially by Americans. He was educated in the best military schools of Europe and became an officer in the Polish army. At the beginning of our Revolutionary War he came to this county to assist the people of the colonies in their struggle for independence. He served during that entire war with great fidelity and distinction, a part of the time on the staff of General Washington as chief engineer. At the close of that war he returned to his native country and was for many years the most conspicuous figure in the long and desperate struggle which Poland maintained against the combined powers of Russia, Prussia and Austria. At last he was defeated, the Polish army destroyed and he was carried, wounded and a prisoner, to St. Petersburg. Poland suffered dismemberment. After two years of imprisonment the death of Queen Catharine of Russia occurred and Kosciusko was restored to liberty and his sword was tendered him by the new Emperor Paul, but he declined it, saying that he had no need of it, as he had no country to defend. Subsequently (1797) he re-visited this country and was everywhere joyfully received by a grateful people. Congress voted him honors and lands, and it so happened that the lands bestowed upon him were located upon the east bank of the Scioto River in the northern part of Franklin county, Ohio. It was on these lands in this then wilderness that Leatherlips was in camp when his death was decreed and here he was executed, and the virgin soil which a grateful people had bestowed upon the liberty-loving Kosciusko drank the blood of Leatherlips and there his ashes repose to-day.

On the spot where he was executed and buried the Wyandot Club, of the City of Columbus, in the year 1888, erected a Scotch granite monument to his memory, sarcophagus in design. This club consists of seventeen members, which number cannot be increased. It was organized about twenty years ago for social purposes, but incidentally the members have taken an interest in historic matters pertaining to former occupants of this portion of the country.

Some years ago the beautiful Wyandot Grove, on which is the celebrated Wyandot Spring, was in danger of passing into hands not likely to preserve it. To prevent this and insure protection and perpetuation of this noble grove and spring the club purchased the grounds, containing forty acres of land, and erected thereon a beautiful stone club house. This grove is situated on the west bank of the Scioto River, nine miles northwest from the City of Columbus. The spring, which has always been known from the earliest settlement as the "Wyandot Spring," flows out of the limestone formation at this place in great volume and is of historic interest. It was the favorite stopping place for the Indians and probably for their predecessors in the occupancy of this portion of the country on their way up and down the Scioto River, either in canoes or on the trail. The old Indian trail, from the mouth of the Scioto River to the Sandusky Bay, passed immediately by this spring. As long as the Indians remained in Central Ohio this continued to be a favorite stopping place with them and has also been a place of resort by the white people ever since the first settlers appeared along the upper Scioto.

The place where Leatherlips was executed is six miles north from the Wyandot Grove, on the opposite bank of the river. The spot where this dreadful occurrence took place has always been well known to the white settlers in the neighborhood, and the late J. C. Thompson, who owned and occupied the land for fifty years preceding the purchase by the Wyandot Club, had always kept the place marked and carefully guarded from desecration.

In 1888 the members of the club purchased an acre of ground where the execution took place and surrounded it with a most

substantial stone wall and had it dedicated forever for burial purposes. The monument stands upon the summit of the east bank of the Scioto River and about fifteen rods from the river's edge at a height of about fifty feet above the waters of that stream. The land slopes gradually and gently from the monument to the river's edge. The view from the monument, both up and down the Scioto at that place, is one of the most picturesque and beautiful to be found anywhere on that river. The grounds are kept in good order and the place is visited yearly by many hundreds of people.

When the monument was erected the story of Leatherlips and his sad fate had been largely forgotten by the older generation, most of whom had passed away, and had not become generally known to the younger generation. The erection of the monument at once created a wide and active interest in the public mind, and has tended greatly to widen information not only in regard to this particular event, but as to Indian history generally.

Both Kosciusko and Leatherlips have obtained enduring monuments in very unusual and unexpected ways. The former saw the liberties of his country destroyed and his territory partitioned among the great powers of Europe, and himself died in exile, but his liberty-loving countrymen brought his remains back to his native land and erected over him a mighty mound of earth which was collected by patriotic hands from all the great battle fields of Poland. Leatherlips had no countrymen to raise a monument to him. His tribe had perished from the earth. There was no one even of his race to pay him honor or do ought to preserve his memory, and it was thought by the members of the Wyandot Club, which bears the name of his tribe, that a suitable monument on the spot where he was executed would greatly tend to perpetuate his memory and at the same time show that the white race was not wholly indifferent to the courage and virtues of a man who, although he was born a "savage" and lived the wild life of the forest, yet had great and noble qualities. A Scotch granite monument was therefore procured from Aberdeen, Scotland, and placed upon the spot

where eighty years before he had been so cruelly murdered and obscurely buried in the depths of the then wilderness of Ohio.

There is every reason to believe that the death of Chief Crane was included in the purposes of those who planned the death of Leatherlips, and that he would have fallen a victim of the conspiracy if he could have been found separated temporarily from his tribe, as was Leatherlips. The truth of course cannot now be definitely ascertained, but as Crane was the most important and influential chief of his tribe and equally determined with Leatherlips to restrain his tribe from war, it may be considered as certain that the conspirators would have dispatched Crane if the opportunity had been afforded, as it was in the case of Leatherlips.

RED JACKET.

The next in order of time was the mounment to the great Seneca chief, Red Jacket (Sagoyewatha, "The Keeper Awake"), which was erected to his memory and that of five other chiefs and nine warriors of the Seneca nation in Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, N. Y., June 22, 1892. Red Jacket was born at Seneca Lake, New York, in 1752, and died on the Seneca Reservation, near Buffalo, January 20, 1830. He was present, as we have seen, at the burial of Chief Crane at Upper Sandusky in 1818, and was the most conspicuous figure in that assemblage of chiefs and warriors. His fame is that of a statesman and orator rather than as a warrior, as he came into prominence after the period of the long and bloody wars in which his tribe had been concerned. He was, however, in several respects one of the most noted chiefs of modern times, and certainly the most noted among the Six Nations of the Iroquois. As to his personal appearance he was described as a "perfect Indian." He was a perfect Indian not only in appearance, but in dress, character and instinct. He refused to acquire the English language and always spoke his native tongue. He dressed with much taste in the Indian costume; "upper garments blue, cut after the fashion of the hunting shirt, with blue leggings, very neat moccasins, a red jacket and a girdle of red about his waist. In form he was erect, but not large. His eye was fine, his forehead lofty and capacious, his bearing calm and dignified." He had an un-

THE RED JACKET MONUMENT.

ERECTED IN FOREST LAWN CEMETERY, BUFFALO, N. Y., BY THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1892.

alterable contempt for the dress of the white man, and also an unalterable dislike for missionaries. In answer to a proposal to send missionaries among his people he said:

"We also have a religion, which was given to our forefathers and has been handed down to us, their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favors we receive, to love each other and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

"The Great Spirit has made us all, but He has made a difference between his white and red children. He has given us different complexions and different customs. To you He has given the arts. To these He has not opened our eyes. We know these things to be true, since He has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that He has given us a different religion, according to our understanding. The Great Spirit does right; He knows what is best for His children; we are satisfied.

"We are told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbors; we are acquainted with them; we will wait a little while and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will then consider again of what you have said."

On another occasion, speaking of the missionaries, he said:

"These men know we do not understand their religion; we cannot read their book. They tell us different stories about what it contains and we believe they make the book to talk to suit themselves. The Great Spirit will not punish us for what we do not know. He will do justice to his red children. These black coats talk to the Great Spirit and ask for light that we may see as they do, when they are blind themselves and quarrel about the light which guides them. These black coats tell us to work and raise corn; they do nothing themselves and would starve to death if somebody did not feed them. All they do is to pray to the Great Spirit; but that will not make corn or potatoes grow. They have always been ready to teach us how to quarrel about their religion."

In 1818 the celebrated artist, Charles B. King, painted a portrait of Red Jacket when on a visit to Washington City. It was one of the "King Collection," owned by the government, and which was destroyed by fire in the Smithsonian Institution January 24, 1865.

In 1849 the eminent actor, Henry Placide, caused a marble slab, with a suitable inscription, to be placed at the head of Red Jacket's grave. This was, however, largely destroyed by reckless and thoughtless relic hunters. What is left of it is now deposited in the rooms of the Buffalo Historical Society at Buffalo, New York. The place of his original interment was in the old Mission Cemetery at East Buffalo, which, through neglect and time, came to be a common pasture ground for cattle and was in a "scandalous state of delapidation and neglect."

In 1852 an educated Chippeway, named Copway, delivered a series of lectures in Buffalo, in which he called attention to the neglected grave of Red Jacket. A prominent resident of Buffalo, Mr. Hotchkiss, lived near the place where Red Jacket was buried and he, together with Copway, exhumed the remains and placed them in a cedar coffin, which he placed in his house. Hotchkiss' motives were good, but the Indians then living in the neighborhood, on discovering that the remains had been removed, became greatly excited and made angry demonstrations against him. The remains were then given over to Ruth Stevenson, a stepdaughter of Red Jacket, who retained them in her cabin for some years, and finally secreted them in a place unknown to any person but herself. After some years, when she had become advanced in age, she became anxious to have the remains of her stepfather receive a final and known resting place, and with that view October 2, 1879, she delivered them to the Buffalo Historical Society, which society assumed their care and custody and deposited them in the vaults of the Western Savings Bank of Buffalo, where they remained until October 9, 1884, when the final interment was made in Forest Lawn Cemetery at Buffalo.

The splendid monument which now marks the spot was not completed for some years after the interment. The Buffalo Historical Society selected a noble design for the monu-

ment, but after expending a large sum of money on its construction was crippled for means to bring it to completion. This embarrassment was finally removed by the act of a generous and noble woman, Mrs. Huyler, of New York City, who, without suggestion or solicitation, came forward and gave her check for ten thousand dollars, that being the sum necessary to complete the work so worthily begun. The society was anxious to make public the name of this generous lady, but she preferred otherwise, desiring that the members of the Buffalo Historical Society should have the credit of completing the splendid work which they had designed and set in motion. The name, however, has long been an open secret, although we think it has never before been published. The time has now come, however, when no harm can come by openly connecting Mrs. Huyler's name with the noble enterprise which her generous donation brought so happily to completion. No one American of whom we have knowledge has contributed so generously to an effort on the part of the white race to perpetuate the history and memory of the red race, now practically passed away.

The unveiling of this monument took place June 22, 1892, and it is and will be for all time a sterling credit to the designers and promoters of this tribute to the memory of Red Jacket and other chiefs of the Seneca Nation. Along with the remains of Red Jacket there was also interred at the same time the remains of five other Seneca chiefs and nine unknown warriors, their remains having been removed from the Old Mission Burying Ground near Buffalo, where Red Jacket was originally buried. So that the monument commemorates not only the great Chief Red Jacket, but has the wider significance of being a tribute to the memory of the Seneca Nation, which occupied that region of beauty and grandeur about the Niagara River and there worshipped and waged war as far back as we have any history or tradition of them.

The names of the other chiefs whose ashes were re-interred and now repose by the side of Red Jacket beneath the shadow of this splendid monument were:

First: Young King (Gui-en-gwah-toh), born about 1760 and probably a nephew of Old King, renowned in the annals of the Seneca Nation.

Second: Captain Pollard (Ga-on-dowau-na; Big-Tree), who was a Seneca Sachem and said to be only second to Red Jacket as an orator and superior to him in morals, "being literally a man without guile and distinguished for his benevolence and wisdom."

Third: Little Billy (Jish-ge-ge, or Katy-did, an insect), also called "The War Chief," died December 28, 1834, at Buffalo Creek, New York, at a very advanced age. He was one of the Indian guides who accompanied Washington on his mission to Fort Duquesne during the old French and Indian war.

Fourth: Destroy-Town (Go-non-da-gie; meaning "he destroys the town"), was noted for the "soundness of his judgment, his love of truth, his probity and his bravery as a warrior."

Fifth: Tall Peter (Ha-no-ja-cya), who was one of the leading chiefs of his nation and led a useful and exemplary life. He also was buried in the Old Mission Cemetery with the other chiefs before mentioned, and his remains were exhumed and reinterred with his fellow chiefs and warriors.

By the commendable and most praiseworthy action on the part of the Buffalo Historical Society, the names of all these once celebrated and worthy chiefs and sachems have been rescued from that oblivion which has fallen upon the names and memories of almost all of the great and influential men of their race.

CORNSTALK.

The next monument in the order of time was that of Chief Cornstalk, a great Shawnee Sachem and warrior, erected at Point Pleasant, West Virginia, in October, 1896. This monument stands in the Court House yard and was placed there by a few enterprising and generous residents of Point Pleasant, prominent among them being Hon. Lon T. Pilchard, Hon. C. E. Hogg, Hon. John E. Beller, Capt. John R. Selbe, Mr. F. B. Tippett, Col. Thomas Mulford and others.

THE CORNSTALK MONUMENT.

On the occasion of the unveiling of the monument Hon. C. E. Hogg delivered an address replete with eloquence and historical statements, in the course of which he said:

"Who was this man that, after the lapse of more than one hundred years since falling to sleep in the lands of his forefathers, that these proud and noble people should assemble here beneath the shadows of this aged temple of justice on this autumnal day to do honor to his life and character? History answers that he was a son of the Shawnees, a child of the forest and of nature; an Indian, but a warrior and chieftain; wise and composed in council, but fierce and terrible in war. * * * God had raised him up to be the leader of his people and the Creator had endowed him with splendid intellectual faculties. * * * He was a great orator, a man of transcendant eloquence; but the fame of Cornstalk will always rest upon his prowess and generalship at the battle of Point Pleasant, fought on the 10th day of October, 1774, and the ground upon which we are now gathered was the scene of the thickest of the fight, and where the Death Angel struggled the hardest to seize upon his victims. * * * This battle so momentous in its consequences was not the result of accident. It was planned and carried out by the commander and his braves with consummate skill and far-sightedness. History says that this distinguished chief and consummate warrior proved himself on this eventful day to be justly entitled to the prominent position which he occupied. * * *"

"Never did men exhibit more conclusive evidence of bravery in making a charge and fortitude in sustaining an onset than did these undisciplined and unlettered soldiers of the forest on the field of battle at Point Pleasant in the dark days of our country, more than a century ago. Such was the foe our white brethren had to meet in battle on that historic day. But by skill in arms, valor in action and strategy in plan as nightfall began to approach and the great orb of day to hide his face from the terrible scene of carnage and death the almost invincible enemy withdrew from action and victory perched upon our arms.

Not a great while after this famous battle, indeed before its disasters had ceased to echo in the savage ear, a mighty coalition

was forming among the Indians northwest of the Ohio River for the purpose of waging war against the colonists and the American patriots to further the cause of British aggression and the assent of the Shawnees alone was wanting to conclude its perfection. The distinguished sachem, whose memory we are glad to honor to-day, at the head of the great nation of the Shawnees, was opposed to an alliance with the British and anxious to maintain friendly and cordial relations with the colonists. All his influence and all his energies were exerted to prevent his brethren from again making war upon our people, but all his efforts to stay its tide seemed to be in vain, so determined were his people to again enter upon the wild theater of war. In this posture of affairs he again came to this place, then in command of Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, on a mission of friendship and love to communicate the hostile preparations of the Indians and that the Shawnees alone—Cornstalk's people—were wanting to render a confederacy complete and that the current of feeling was running so strong among the Indians against the colonists that the Shawnees would float with the stream in despite of his endeavors to stem it and that hostilities would commence immediately."

These extracts more eloquently and truly portray the life and character of Cornstalk than any words of mine could do. The story of Cornstalk and his sad fate, and that of his son, Ellinipsico, and Red Hawk, the brilliant young chief who accompanied Cornstalk on this friendly mission to Point Pleasant, has been so often and sorrowfully told that it is not our purpose to repeat it here, further than to say, that it was a most unfortunate and inexcusable error to detain them as was done in the camp, which they had entered with friendly feelings and with the highest and best motives.

A day or two after their unfortunate detention it so happened that some roving Indians prowling in the neighborhood of the camp killed a white man. At least that was the report, and thereupon the infuriated soldiers under Captain Arbunckle, in despite of his best efforts to restrain them, rushed upon Cornstalk and his son and Chief Red Hawk and most cruelly murdered them. It always has been and always will be considered one of the most inexcusable and unfortunate murders in the his-

tory of our contact with the red race. It destroyed at once and necessarily the only hope of reconciliation and peace between the white settlers south of the Ohio River and the Indian tribes north of it. This dreadful occurrence was in the month of May, 1777, and was followed by a succession of wars, forays and murders down to the battle of "Fallen Timbers," in 1794, during which time many thousands of white men, women and children, and many thousands of the red race of all ages and conditions perished at each other's hands.

The dreadful character of the crime was, if possible, heightened by the death of the brilliant young Chief Ellinipsico, son of Cornstalk. The old chief went voluntarily into the camp of the white men, but the son was deceived and treacherously misled and trapped to his death. He was enticed across the Ohio River by deceit and fraudulent pretenses of friendship and immediately imprisoned with his father and Red Hawk and suffered death at the same time with them. There never has been and never can be any excuse or palliation for the murder of this young chief and no one event in the history of those bloody times so much enraged the vindictive spirit of the Indian tribes, particularly of the Shawnees. It can never be known how many deaths of white men, women and children during the next twenty years were owing to this treachery and murder, but it is certain that they were legion.

It is an inspiring thought that some justice sometimes at least comes around to the memory of those who have been cruelly wronged and such has been the case with Cornstalk. One hundred and twenty years after he had been cruelly murdered by those whom he was trying to befriend and protect, a suitable and enduring monument was raised to his memory by a few generous-minded white men on the spot where he fought one of the greatest battles in all Indian warfare, and where he, three years afterwards, gave up his life while engaged in a friendly and noble mission for the benefit and protection of the white race, as well as that of his own.

SHABBONA.

We have now mentioned all the monuments which have been actually erected to individual Indians of which we have knowledge; but it is proper to add that another monument has

CHIEF SHAB-BO-NA.

been proposed and is now being urged for the great Pottowattomie Chief Shabbona or Sha-bo-na (meaning, built like a bear). This celebrated chief died near Morris, Grundy county, Ill., July 17, 1859, and was buried in Evergreen Cemetery at Morris, Ill. His pall-bearers were all white men, of whom but one of them (Hon. P. A. Armstrong) is living at the present time. He was well acquainted with this old chief and of him he has said that

"He was as modest as he was brave and as true to the dictates of humanity as the sun."

Mr. Armstrong is the president of an association organized for the purpose of erecting a monument to this noted chief. Shabbona went with his tribe from Illinois in 1835 to the territory west of the Mississippi, but years afterwards returned to the State of Illinois, where the Government of the United States had bestowed upon him lands in Grundy county, for his services during the Black Hawk war, and he remained in Grundy county until he died. That he was cheated out of these lands by unscrupulous white men before his death is a sad and mortifying fact, but it is not germane to our present purpose. We desire now only to recall briefly the merits of this brave man and his claims to recognition by the white race. He was second in command of the Indian forces under Tecumseh at the "Battle of the Thames" in 1813, and was in command of the Indian forces after Tecumseh fell. The result of that battle was such as to convince him that no further wars could be successfully waged by the Indians against the white race, and he determined thereafter to refrain from war, and when in 1832 Black Hawk appealed to him to join forces with him he not only turned a deaf ear to his entreaties, but exerted himself to the utmost to warn and protect the white settlers against the contemplated foray of Black Hawk. Black Hawk said to him by way of inducement to join in his purposes: "If you will permit your young men to unite with mine I will have an army like the trees in the forest and will drive the palefaces before me like autumn leaves before an angry wind," to which Shabbona replied: "But the palefaces will soon bring an army like the leaves on the trees and sweep you into the ocean beneath the setting sun." Seeing, however, that Black Hawk was determined upon war and bloodshed, he slipped away from the council and by most extraordinary efforts hastened himself in one direction while sending his son in another, and thus succeeded in warning the white settlers of their impending danger and saved most of them from the slaughter which otherwise would have fallen upon all. Most of those who lost their lives in that foray had refused to heed the warnings which Shabbona had given them. Afterward he acted as guide for General At-

kins in his pursuit of Black Hawk through the Winnebago swamps. For these acts and efforts he was afterwards tried by his tribe and found guilty of aiding and abetting the enemies of his people, and the title of chief was taken away from him and he was ever afterwards treated as a traitor to his tribe and race.

It has been said of him by one of the most intelligent and well-informed writers, concerning this old chief, that: "History records the deeds of no champion of pure, noble, disinterested and genuine self-sacrificing humanity equalling those of this untutored, so-called savage, Shabbona."

It is to be most sincerely hoped that the efforts of the association to erect a monument to this old chief may soon be ended in success, for surely he deserves of the white race for whom he sacrificed everything that was dear in life, and by some of whom he was most deeply wronged, that they should rescue his name permanently from oblivion and show to the world that his worthy life and self-sacrificing deeds have not been and shall not be forgotten.

THE SOCIETY OF SHAKERS.
RISE, PROGRESS AND EXTINCTION OF THE SOCIETY AT CLEVELAND, O.

BY J. P. MACLEAN, PH. D.

I. PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

The communistic societies of the United States continue to elicit more or less attention, and receive profound consideration from those engaged in sociological philosophy. Whatever religious or sociological problem these communities seek to solve, their progress or failure is carefully noted even by those who have not come in immediate contact with the advocates, or their special environments. The careful observer ever remains candid, looking for results, although not necessarily swayed by the opinions put forth and the practices adopted. With an intelligent conception of history he fully realizes that one failure, nor even a dozen abortive attempts, does not prove or disprove the solution of a problem. Circumstances embracing leadership have more or less influence in the ultimate success or failure.

When communistic societies that have endured for a period of a hundred or more years, and still retain their position, practically unchanged, their success, manners, principles and prospects become worthy of special notice. In the investigation the promulgators should have the fullest latitude to answer for themselves. The tendency of this age is to accord that right.

If a branch of one of these communities should exist for a period of years, gain wealth, practice their precepts, and then dissolve or become extinct, the position they maintained should not be forgotten, and their records should be preserved.

For a period of two-thirds of a century there existed eight miles east by south of the Public Square, in Cleveland, Ohio, a community known as Shakers, but calling themselves The Mil-

lenium Church of United Believers. Their location they called North Union, and by that name it was so designated by their co-religionists. Although the name Shaker was originally applied as an epithet, yet it has been taken up by the members of the United Believers, who now deem it an honor to be so characterized. It is no longer used as a term of reproach.

The North Union community has passed into history. Its former existence is entirely unknown to the vast majority of the inhabitants of Cleveland, and the greater part of those aware of such a community know it only as a tradition. However, the land owned by them is now called Shaker Heights, and as such is likely to be perpetuated. No one in Cleveland, so far as I was able to determine, could tell when the society was dissolved, and in what year the land was sold. They could tell about the time, but not the date. It was after much perseverance I was enabled to fix the time. These people, who secluded themselves from society, should be remembered for many reasons, and especially because they may justly be denominated as pioneers of the Western Reserve. It is also but just, in what pertained to themselves, they should be permitted to explain their position and submit their narration of events. Advantage of this will be taken through the labors of one of the elders, who has left a MS., now in the Western Reserve Historical Society.

It must be admitted that for a community or sect so small as that of the Shakers, the literature has been more extensive than the results. The believers deserve great credit in the enterprise exhibited in the publishing and spreading of their views. In point of numbers of believers, in this respect, in all probability, they are unexcelled.

It is not the purpose, in this account, to give a history of this sect, nor to discuss their doctrines. These questions are not hidden from the world. Their doctrines have been changed to a greater or less extent, and one important feature added, before the close of the first half century of their existence. However, in its proper place, the dogmas entertained by the

Shakers of North Union, will be given. A brief outline of the sect's history, in that particular, must here suffice.

The Shakers owe their origin to Ann Lee, who was born in Manchester, England, February 29, 1736, emigrated to America in 1774, and died September 8, 1784. The first church building was erected in the autumn of 1785, and the first formal organization of the society was in September, 1787, at Mount Lebanon, New York, which still ranks as the leading one. The Shakers thus become the oldest of all existing communistic societies of the United States, besides being the most thoroughly organized, and in many respects the most successful. However, it cannot be said, at this time, they are in a flourishing condition, unless their possessions be accounted.

While the promulgation of the Shaker doctrines was taking root in certain localities in the states eastward, one of the greatest religious excitements that ever was enacted broke out in Kentucky in the year 1800. It began in Logan and Christian counties, on the waters of Gasper and Red rivers, and in the spring of the following year extended into Marion county. Richard McNemar, who was an eye-witness, published a descriptive account of the wild carnival. There is no reason for questioning his narrative. It was even claimed that a babe of six months was spiritually affected. It is outside our province to rehearse what has been written concerning this revival. Suffice it to say that engaged in it were Barton W. Stone, who soon after founded the sect called Christians, but generally termed New Lights. There were other strong men who changed their views, among whom may be mentioned Richard McNemar, John Dunlavy and Matthew Houston, who became leaders of Shakerism in Kentucky and Ohio. When the "Three Witnesses," from Mount Lebanon, were sent into the west, they found the soil partly prepared. Union Village, in Warren county, Ohio, the first in the west, largely owes its location to Malcomb Worley. He was early converted and used his influence over his neighbors. His house still stands near the center of the society's estate. Union Village may date its origin to the year 1805. The elders of this community have the general oversight of all the societies in the west.

II. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF NORTH UNION.

The history of the North Union Society is the history of the elders. If the chief leader possessed judgment and was full of enterprise the society flourished. This is particularly true during the first twenty years of its existence. Then came the stationary period, followed by a rapid decline that ended in extinction. The origin, rise, decline and extinction must be extracted from the biographies of the elders.

The origin and location of the North Union Society must be accorded to Ralph Russell, who owned a farm on section 22, Warrensville township, Cuyahoga county, Ohio. During the month of October, 1821, he visited the Society of Shakers at Union Village, Ohio, and united with them with a view of removing his family there in the following spring. Although it is not stated, yet he probably knew of this community before visiting them, and the object of his sojourn was to become better acquainted with their manners and doctrines. He was advised to return home and wait until spring, which counsel, received from the elders of Union Village, was acted upon. He was filled with the same zeal that actuated those by whom he had just been instructed. On his return he immediately began to teach the doctrines he had just espoused, and employed the remainder of the winter in proselyting. When spring opened, the same elders advised him to remain where he was, and prepare to start a community in his own family and on his own farm. This was an undertaking he does not appear to have contemplated. The elders had not acted inconsiderately, for they not only had the means to favor the enterprise, but were willing to render such assistance as was necessary. To this end they sent two of their ablest advocates, in the persons of Richard W. Pelham and James Hodge, who arrived about March 25, 1822. Soon after their arrival a meeting was called, when Elder Pelham "first opened the testimony of the Gospel" at North Union. Under the eloquence of the preacher, supplemented by the influence and private labors of Ralph Russell among his kindred and neighbors, there was a visible result manifested. Ralph and his wife received the elders with kind-

ness and he felt very strong and was positive that a society would be established on his and neighboring farms. As a reason for the faith that was in him he gave an account of a vision he had received since his return home from Union Village, which consisted in a strong, clear ray of light, that proceeded from Union Village, in a perfectly straight, horizontal line until it reached a spot near his dwelling, about where the center house now stands, and there it arose in a strong, erect column, and became a beautiful tree.

The first meeting for public services was held in the log cabin of Elijah Russell, on the Sunday following the arrival of the elders. Instead of delivering a discourse the time was occupied in stating the principal doctrines, articles of faith, practical life, ending with an invitation to any one to talk over the questions in a friendly manner. Advantage was taken of this opportunity, and for nearly two hours the discussion continued. The arguments continued in a lively manner, both pro and con, for the time specified. At the first lull, a small, keen-looking man, who had remained silent, though deeply interested, spoke out and said: "Christians, you may ground your arms, you are beat if you knew it." Elder Pelham's voice in the meantime had become hoarse, recognizing which the little man again spoke: "Neighbors, you ought to consider that a man's lungs are not made of brass. This man has spoke long enough and said sufficient to satisfy any reasonable people; but, if you are not satisfied, you ought to quit now and take another opportunity." Instead of this sound advice being quietly received it only served to irritate and caused some to become factious. A man now arose who authoritatively said: "Come, neighbors, you have gone far enough, and it will become my duty to use my authority and command the peace, unless you desist." Peace having thus been restored the meeting was dismissed.

The discomfited people, stung by having been overcome by one whom, from his appearance thought to be a boy, in order to excuse themselves circulated the report that "the lad" had been brought up by the Shakers, who had always kept him in

school, and he had done nothing else, in order that he might out argue everybody.

For full six weeks the elders remained, and held several other meetings. Ralph Russell's three brothers, Elijah, Elisha and Rodney, united with him. The two former owned farms adjoining that of Ralph, while the farm of Rodney was some distance, but in the same township. Rodney, being single, lived with his mother on Ralph's premises. To these believers there were added Riley Honey and Chester Risley, the former single and the latter married, each of whom owned land adjoining that of the Russells. All of these men, with their wives and older children, adopted the forms, costumes, customs and doctrines of the Shakers. Of the six men all remained faithful with the exception of Ralph.

Immediately the believers commenced to organize, enlarged their accommodations, erected log cabins, cleared lands and in a short time there was an interesting group of houses, and the smoke of their chimneys, in the winter season, assumed the appearance, to a distant observer, of a rich cluster of wigwams. The general oversight of the infant community was vested in the ministry at Union Village. The local leader was Ralph Russell, who proved himself very efficient.

A religion at variance with that to which people are generally accustomed, and especially one advocating radical measures, must, in the necessity of things, meet with opposition. This was true in the case of the United Believers at North Union, but not so violent as that encountered by the society at Union Village. The first organization at North Union occasioned much excitement, and their doctrines and method of worship were subjected to ridicule, as well as opposition. In due time this feeling entirely subsided by giving way to respect for the people, who soon became regarded as honest in their peculiar religious views and upright in their transactions with the community at large.

The United Believers at Union Village were not remiss in their obligations to those at North Union. Soon after the departure of Richard W. Pelham and James Hodge to their home at Union Village, the ministry there delegated Richard

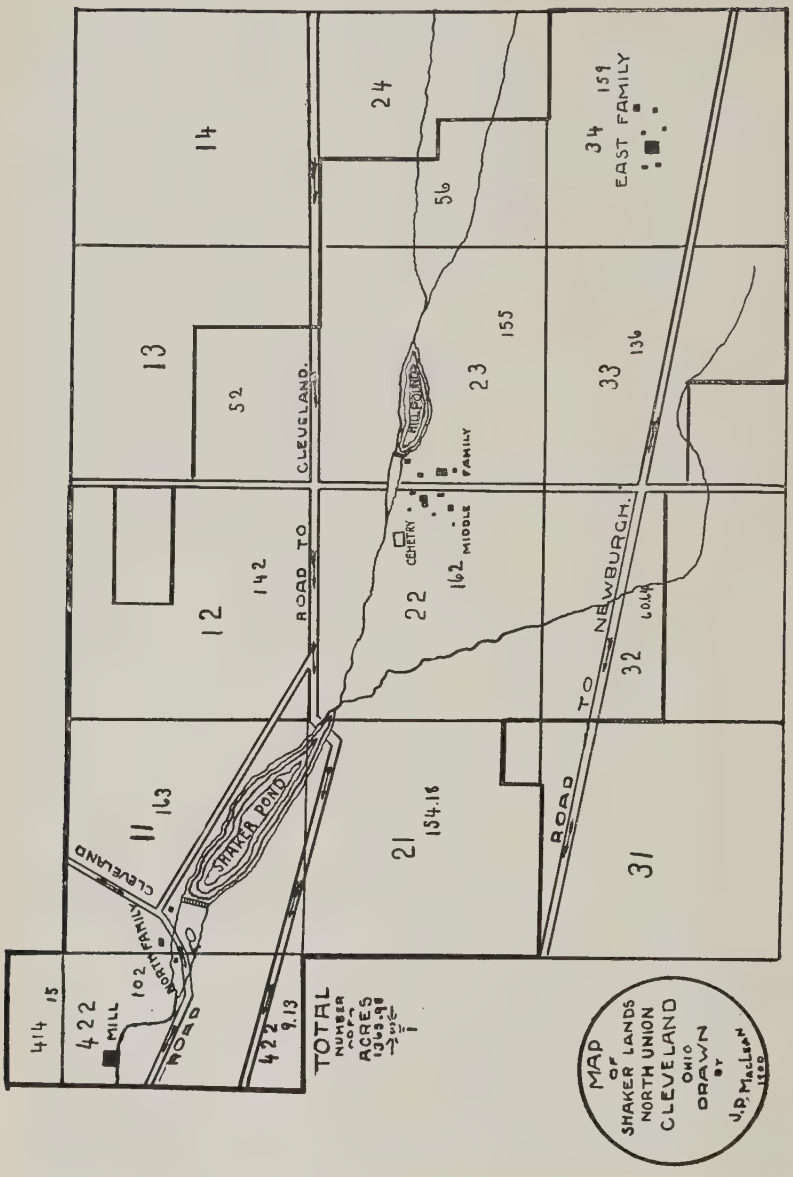
McNemar, Richard W. Pelham, James Hodge, Anna Boyd and Betsey Dunlavy to proceed to the new settlement and organize the believers into a common family, to be known in reference to the parent as "The North Union." It was soon after this organization that public worship, after the manner of that sect, was held in a log cabin near the residence of Ralph Russell, and these meetings were so continued with satisfactory results until near the close of the year. When the elders returned to Union Village they were accompanied by some of the brethren from North Union, who desired to study the doctrines and observances more fully as exemplified in the usages of the older community. Their report gave every assurance that The True Millenium Church had been fully established, of which they had now become an integral part. In the spring of 1823, section 23 of Warrensville township was purchased by the trustees of Union Village and formally consecrated. Other lands were purchased and some received by donations.

After the society had been in successful operation for a period of four years, and was increasing in strength and good works, through the frequent visitations of the elders and eldresses from the parent community, without a permanent organization, early in the spring of 1826, Ashbel Kitchell was appointed presiding elder, and came, accompanied by James McNemar, Lois Spinning and Thankful Stewart. The society now began to assume the appearance of an organized body well officered. The established order of the eldership was now introduced for the first time. The equality of the sexes was brought into exercise in the government of the community, which consisted of two of each sex, each governing its own side of the house. The one-man power, or one-woman power, was thoroughly eliminated, and the practice was introduced of all working together and in harmony, as the head of the body. It was then and is still claimed that this mode of government is founded upon the Gospel of Christ's second appearing.

In the year 1828 the time appeared ripe for the signing of the Covenant. To this instrument no one was allowed to subscribe his or her name save those of lawful age and such as had been "duly prepared by spiritual travel and Gospel experi-

ence," that no undue advantage should be taken of those who had not counted the cost sufficiently before making an entire consecration. This practical test of Shakerism was signed September 8 by the following persons: Elijah Russell, James S. Prescott, Samuel Russell, Chester Risley, Return Russell, Elisha Russell, John P. Root, Wm. Andrews, Edward Russell, Wm. Johnson, Daniel N. Baird, Ambrose Bragg, Benjamin Hughey, Barney Cosset, Riley Honey, Ebenezer Russell, Mary E. Russell, Prudence Sawyer, Emma H. Russell, Lydia Russell 1st, Lydia Russell 2d, Jerusha Russell 1st. Jerusha Russell 2d, Clarissa Risley, Clarinda Baird, Melinda Russell, Hannah Addison, Caroline Bears, Candace P. Russell, Mercy Sawyer, Esther Russell, Abigail Russel, Phebe Russell, Phebe Andrews, Almeda Cosset, Adaline Russell and Diana Carpenter. Later in the fall of 1828 sixteen more brethern and twenty-seven sisters signed the same document, making in all eighty members. The church was fully organized by the election of James S. Prescott, Chester Risley, Prudence Sawyer and Eunice Russell as elders and eldresses; Return Russell, Elisha Russel, John P. Root, Lydia Russell 1st and Huldah Russell as deacons and deaconesses. The duties of the above officers are mainly spiritual, the temporalities being controlled by a board of trustees, operating under the ministry.

The signing of the Covenant was not only consecrating their own energies to the cause they had espoused, but also the absolute surrender of all their possessions to the church. The act of September 8, 1828, placed under the absolute control of the society a large tract of land, which, together with some acquired afterwards, made the sum total of 1,366 acres, which continued in its possession until the final dissolution, all of which, save 126 acres, is located in the northwest corner of the township of Warrensville, in sections 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, 23, 24, 32, 33, 34. Of the remaining part 15 acres is located in section 414 and 102 acres of section 422 of East Cleveland township, and a fraction over 9 acres in section 422 of Newburgh township. A plat of this land is given in the accompanying illustration.


MAP
OF
SHAKER LANDS
NORTH UNION
CLEVELAND
OHIO
DRAWN
BY
J.P. MacLean
1900
TOTAL
NUMBER
OF
ACRES
1369.98
SHAKER ROAD
CLEVELAND
NORTH FAIRMOUNT
ROAD
MILL
ROAD TO CLEVELAND
ROAD TO NEWBURGH
HILL POND
CEMETERY
FAMILY
MIDDLE
EAST FAMILY
LOWER
11
143
12
142
13
52
14
21
154.16
22
162
23
155
24
56
31
32
33
136
34
159
422
9.13
422
MILL
102
414
15

The land on which the society first started was owned by Ralph, Elijah and Elisha Russell, Chester Risley and Riley Honey, all of whom owned adjoining farms. Return Russell and the trustees of Union Village purchased farms adjoining these, already cleared. Other farms, at a distance, were exchanged for lands contiguous to the community, by John P. Root, Oliver Wheeler and Rodney Russell, all of which were under some degree of improvement.

This land is slightly rolling, through the center of which runs Doan's Brook, having a narrow valley, but of sufficient depth to afford admirable drainage. It is located upon the high tableland overlooking the City of Cleveland. When first bought it was very heavily timbered with beech, maple, whitewood, oak, elm, birch, walnut, basswood and hemlock. On the border of the creek, between the site of the Mill Family and the ruins of the old grist-mill—notice of which will again be made—is a grove of native hemlock, which, in point of beauty, is not surpassed by any in the county. The Shakers left it just as nature made it,—unadorned and unimproved. The first settlers on this soil judged that land capable of producing such a growth and variety of trees, some of which were from four to seven feet in diameter, especially of the whitewood and chestnut, must be of the first quality for agricultural purposes. In this they greatly erred and were sadly disappointed. The deception may be accounted for from the fact that, owing to the great lapse of time since vegetation began to grow on it, the annual decay of the grass and the foliage of the trees gradually deposited the top soil, which varies in depth from five to ten inches. Below this is hard clay, resting upon sandstone. This top soil made the timber, the roots of much of which did not penetrate into the clay, notably the sugar-maple, which is easily blown over as soon as the forest is cleared and the winds have a full sweep, in consequence of which the roots run close to the surface of the ground. On account of the great abundance of the last-named tree it was not unusual during the early days of the society to make 3,000 weight of maple sugar annually.

The lesson was soon learned that the soil was better adapted for dairy and grazing purposes than for raising grain, although good crops were produced for several years after the first clearing of the land; after that it was figured that there was a loss of ten per cent. for every year it was ploughed, unless highly fertilized. Long experience taught the Shakers that the best way to manage this soil was to stock it down, put on fertilizers, top-dress it, sow on the grass seed, under-drain it, keep the water from standing on it and keep the cattle off. Then it will produce two tons per acre on the average. Nothing is more ruinous to this land than to let the cattle and horses tread it up when the ground is soft or full of water; for every footprint leaves a hole where the water settles, and not only kills the grass, but also the life of the soil. Hence the people learned that the ground should be seldom ploughed, and never when it was wet.

The leadership of Elder Ashbel Kitchell proved to be of great service to the community. He had an iron will and his word was law, and fortunately for the people they acquiesced in his plans. He was presiding elder for a period of five years, during which time the society made a great access in buildings and improvements, among which was the first frame house, called the Center House, 30 by 40 feet, two stories high, built by James McNemar, standing on the very spot of land where Ralph Russell saw the vision heretofore mentioned. There was also constructed the first grist-mill, built of wood, 30 by 50 feet, with two run of stone and all the apparatus for bolting wheat. There was erected a frame house, 30 by 45 feet, which was subsequently occupied for a church, or, as the Shakers call it, the Meeting House; also an ox barn, 24 by 50 feet; a cow barn, 80 by 40 feet; a grain barn, 40 by 70; a tan house, 30 by 35 feet, and an office, 24 by 36 feet, besides clearing off about ten acres of heavy timbered land at the grist-mill, and making various other important improvements. Nearly all these buildings were at the Middle Family, which was always the principal one.

Ashbel Kitchell was succeeded by Matthew Houston, and after two years he in turn was succeeded by David Spinning.

who became presiding elder October 24, 1832, and held the office for a period of eight years, during which time the community continued to increase in numbers and grow and prosper in all things, both temporal and spiritual.

In June, 1834, a new ministry was formed, consisting of Elder David Spinning, Richard W. Pelham, Eldresses Lucy Faith and Vincy McNemar,—all save the first named recently sent from Union Village. A better selection could not have been

VIEW OF MILL-DAM FROM BOULEVARD.

made, for all were consecrated to the work, able in their exposition of the Gospel, of upright example, and could not be swerved from their duties. With such a coterie the impetus received under Elder Kitchell would necessarily continue.

But Elder David did not wait for this valuable accession to the ranks. In September, 1832, he caused to be erected a building called the red shop, 30 by 120 feet, two stories high, designed mostly for workshops, which was completed in 1833. It was

subsequently divided into three parts, one removed and formed for a boys' house, one shoved south of the family house and used for a work-house, and the remaining one for a broom-shop. In 1836 a building was erected for a sheep barn, 24 by 50 feet, placed on the north hill. In the spring of 1837 a new saw-mill was built at the Mill Family, 21 by 43 feet, two stories high, the upper part of which was occupied for a coopershop, and there was made tubs, pails, churns, etc., of pine lumber, shipped from Michigan, from land owned by the society. Just above this mill an expensive mill-dam was constructed across the creek, forming a pond of water covering about twenty-five acres. The same year a barn was built for the Mill Family, 36 by 50 feet, located by the roadside south of the creek. In 1838 a dwelling house was erected for the same family, 34 by 50 feet, two stories high, with an underground room for a kitchen, making it three stories on the south side. It was during the eldership of David that spirit manfestations were recognized, a detailed account of which will be given under the consideration of religious dogmas.

On September 15, 1840, the leadership of the society was conferred on Elder Samuel Russell, who presided over its destinies for a period of eighteen years, during which time it progressed in things temporal and spiritual, in buildings and improvements. Under this administrtion the community reached its culminating point, both as to numbers and material development and growth. The advance had been steady, with but comparatively few drawbacks. The membership increased to nearly two hundred, living at one time in the three families. A marked decline set in at the close of this period which steadily increased until the final abandonment of the community. Thirty-six years saw the community growing in wealth, developing spiritually, increasing in numbers;—thirty-one years marked the period of decay, slow at first, but rapid towards the final consummation.

Among the first improvements was an addition to the residence at the Middle Family of a kitchen 20 by 60 feet, two stories high, with a bell weighing three hundred and twenty-six pounds, purchased in Cincinnati for $130. It cost an ad-

dition of $15 for transportation. The kitchen was very convenient, and later all necessary improvements were added, such as stoves, ranges, bakers, etc. It consisted of a dining-room, with two long tables; twenty-five persons could be seated at each, the sisters on the south and the brethren on the north side. Over the dining-room was a chapel, used three evenings in the week for family worship; also on Sunday. West of the

SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF RESIDENCE OF MIDDLE FAMILY.

cook-room was the bake-room, and over these were two dwelling rooms and two shops for the sisters.

These additions were made necessary, for the society had increased until in 1840 there were one hundred members at the Middle Family, about equal in numbers of each sex, including children, and in each of the other two families there were fifty members, making in all two hundred in this community.

In 1843 a new stone grist-mill was built on the north side

VIEW OF THE RUINS OF THE GRIST-MILL.

RUINS OF DAM AND RACE OF GRIST-MILL.

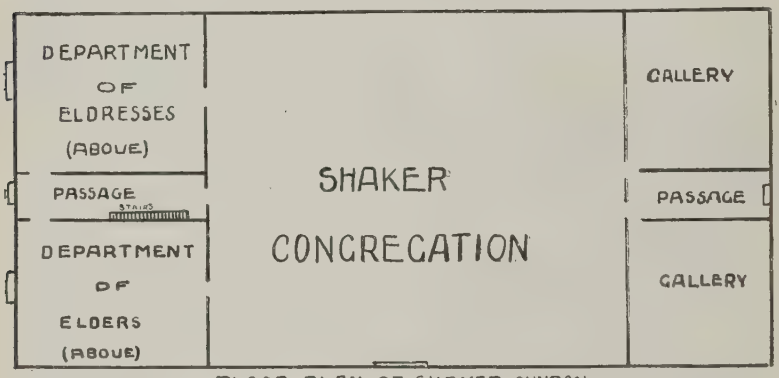
of the creek, near the extreme western part of this land and not far from the hemlock grove. On the south end it was four stories high. Its massive walls of the basement story was built of sandstone, four feet thick, quarried on the spot, or near by. The gearing was mostly of cast-iron. The penstock was hewn out of solid sandstone, to a depth of 50 feet. The front was laid with heavy blocks of stone, mitered in, laid with

SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF CHURCH.

hydraulic cement. There were three run of stone, cast-iron shafts, 50 feet long, running from the stones above down to the cast-iron arm-wheels below. Besides all this there were two new bolts and screen, smut-mill, and a place for grinding coarse feed. When it was built good judges pronounced it to be one of the best flouring-mills in Ohio. It was a monument of solid masonry and workmanship.

In 1848 a new church was erected, 100 feet long and 50

feet wide, large, commodious and built of wood. It was dedicated November 29, 1849. It is divided into three parts. At the south end are rising seats for the public, fenced off by a railing, occupying 20 feet of the floor room, used by the general public. At the north end 24 feet of the space is cut off for the use of the ministry. On first floor are two apartments. These parts are separated by a hallway 10 feet in width. This hallway is entered through a double doorway. The men's apartments have a doorway to the hall, the audience-room and an exit. The same is also true of the apartment of the women. Over these apartments are others for the elders and eldresses,



FLOOR PLAN OF SHAKER CHURCH

or ministry, leading to which is a stairway through the hall. Each of the upstairs apartments is divided into two rooms and a closet. At both ends are double doorways, and the same on the west side, the latter seldom ever used. The arrangement gave the worshippers a space of about 50 feet square, surrounded by benches fastened to the wall. Wooden pins abound in the building, used for the purpose of suspending hats and coats. There is also a stairway leading to the attic and one to the cellar. The attic exhibits the massive timber used in its construction. The building was painted white.

The building of the church was followed by the erection of a shool house a few rods south of the former, constructed of brick, 21 by 36 feet, well furnished with stationary seats and desks, and teacher's platform on the north side near the mid-

dle. It was well ventilated and furnished with the best approved books, globes, maps, blackboards and all other apparatus in use in district schools.

The times also demanded a kitchen for the office, and one was built 15 by 36 feet, two stories high. About the same time a small two-story building was put up near the northeast

SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF OFFICE.

corner of the church, used by the ministry for a workshop, the lower story by the men and the upper for the women.

In 1854 the woolen factory was erected, 24 by 50 feet, three stories high on the south and four stories on the north side, including the basement, built of brick. The upper story was occupied by a spinning jack of 160 spindles, two power looms for weaving cloth and a twister. The next story below was used for the carding machines,—the most of their wool being manufactured into stocking yarn. In the story immedi-

ately under this last named was an iron lathe for turning broom handles, and in the basement was a large grindstone and a buzz-saw for sawing wood for fuel, which kept between forty and fifty fires supplied through the winter. The entire machinery was carried by water power supplied by an overshot wheel, with water drawn from the upper pond through an artificial race.

This is a narration of some of the improvements made under the immediate supervision of Elder Samuel Russell, who went further in this direction than any one ruling that community. His attention was also called to the better stock of cattle and horses. Of the former he secured the Durham and Devonshire breeds, of the most thoroughbred that could be obtained in either England or the United States. The horses adopted were those evenly matched in color, size and speed—it proving nothing whether they were Morgan, French, Canadian or Arabian.

The withdrawal of Elder Samuel Russell from the society in 1858 left his office vacant, which was immediately filled by the appointment of John P. Root in the ministry. In 1862 the ministry was dissolved.

About the year 1858, on account of some financial troubles, vaguely hinted at and their origin, Elder Richard W. Pelham was sent from Union Village to straighten it out. He remained two years engaged in this work. This mission did not interfere with the work of Elder Root.

There is no record of any special improvement after 1858. In 1870 the condition had become such that a rumor was current that an abandonment was contemplated. This met with an indignant denial. At this time the three families were kept up, having a membership of one hundred and twenty-five.

In 1874 the Novitiate Elder and Eldress were James S. Prescott and Prudence Sawyer.

In 1875 there were still three families, numbering one hundred and two persons, of whom seventeen were children and youths under twenty-one years of age. Of these last six were boys and eleven girls. Of the adult members, forty-four were women and forty-one men. Their number had recently increased, although during the previous fifteen years there had

been a gradual diminution. Of the members then remaining about one-third were brought up in the society. Of the remainder most of them had been by religious connections Baptists, Methodists and Adventists. The majority had been farmers, but there were also sailors, whalemen and weavers. Some were Englishmen, others Germans, still others Swiss, but the greater portion were Americans. The buildings now began to exhibit neglect, showing a want of thorough painting and the neatness of shops. They had no steam laundry, nor provision for baths. They possessed a small library and took the daily *New York World* and *Sun.* They had no debts, but possessed a fund at interest. Their chief source of income was supplying milk and vegetables to Cleveland, as well as fire wood and lumber. Their dairy brought them the previous year $2,300.*

The Shaker for November, 1876, contains the following notice of North Union:

"Anticipated development of stone quarry at this place looks like a steady source of income to society. Grist-mill, built in 1843, has failed for years to be more than a convenience, and sometimes only an expense, is now running by steam and likely to be appreciated as one of the best in the country. Nearly 1,000 bushels of oats threshed. Early potatoes were a good crop; late ones not so good—bugs, etc. Roots and garden products coming in well. A dairy herd at the center family—forty cows—are unequalled in the state."

In 1879 the East Family had twenty-five members, of which John P. Root and Charles Taylor were the elders, and Rachel Russell and Harriet Snyder the eldresses. The Middle Family had thirty members, of which Samuel Miner and George W. Ingalls were elders and Lusetta Walker and Clymena Miner the eldresses. The Mill Family had twelve members, of which Curtis Cramer and Watson Andrews were elders and Lydia Cramer and Temperance Devan eldresses. The board of trustees consisted of James S. Prescott, George W. Ingalls and Samuel S. Miner, and the deaconesses of Candace Russell, Abigal Russell and Margaret Sawyer.

*Nordhoff's Communistic Societies of the United States, p. 204.

As the society had ever been dependent on Union Village for its ministry, and as there was no ministry resident, those who filled that position were, at this time, William Reynolds, Amos Parkhurst, Louisa Farnham and Adaline Wells.

The members of the community, for the greater part, had reached an age when they could not toil as of yore. Hence it

SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF RESIDENCE OF EAST FAMILY.

became necessary to employ laborers and the fruits were not of the increase. John P. Root ceased to be presiding elder in 1876 and was succeeded by James S. Prescott, who in turn was succeeded by Samuel Miner in 1878.

In 1889, owing to the age of the members and the numbers decreased to twenty-seven, and the East Family buildings having been abandoned, further struggle was deemed unwise. Matthew Carter, of Union Village, was made property trustee, who afterward turned the office over to Joseph R. Slingerland and Oliver C. Hampton, also of Union Village. On October

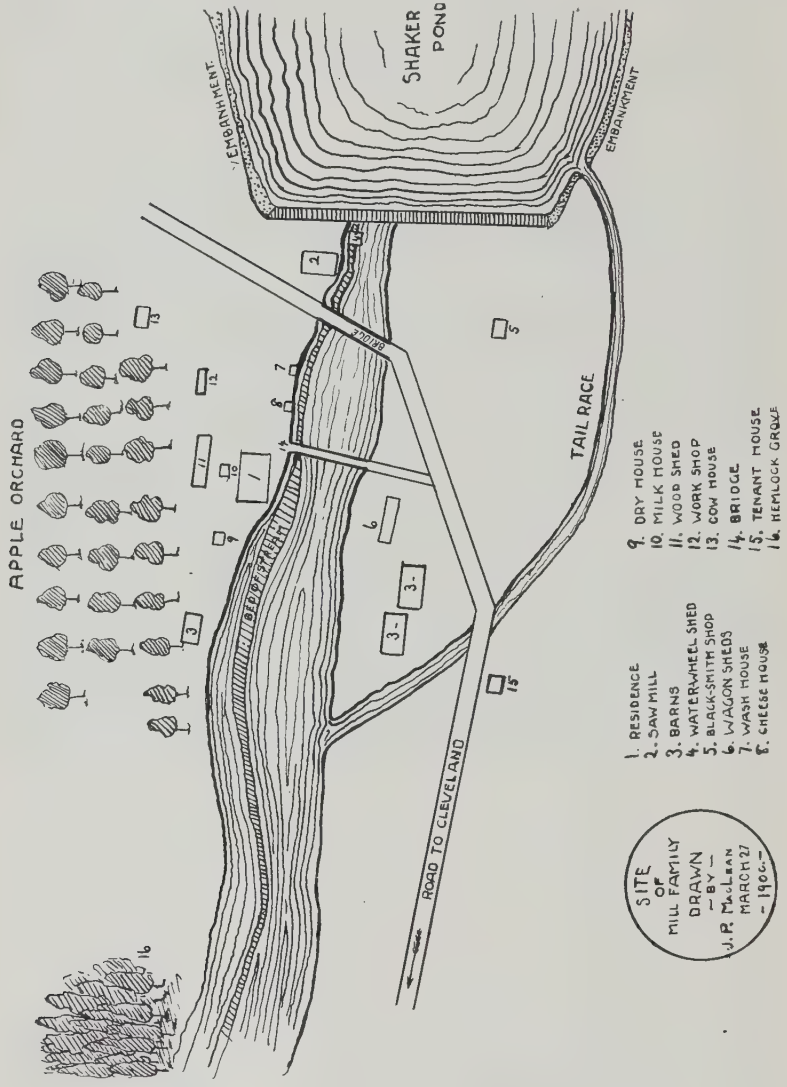
24, 1889, the society was dissolved, eight of the members going to Union Village and the remainder to Watervelt, near Dayton, Ohio. At the time of the dissolution of the society the elders were Samuel S. Miner and Clymena Miner at the Middle Family and Watson A. Andrews and Temperance Devan at the Mill Family. Then came the auction for the disposal of such chattels as the members did not desire to take with them. Two of the brethren remained to look after the buildings and collect the rent. Some three years later the land, by the trustees, Joseph Slingerland and Oliver C. Hampton, was sold to T. A. and Lawrence Lamb for the sum of $316,000. A few years still later the same land sold for $1,365,000. The park system of Cleveland, with its boulevards now (1900) takes in all of Doan Creek that once belonged to the Shakers of North Union.

III. THE SHAKER FAMILIES.

I have never seen any description of the three families that constituted North Union. The description that here follows depends almost entirely on my own trips to the locality, made March 8, 27 and April 1, 1900. My first walk was for the sole purpose of locating the village and obtaining a general view. The second trip was for the purpose of obtaining definite information concerning such things as I was unable to determine during my first visit. Fortunately I learned of Mr. John Ubersax, who was in the employ of the society from 1861 to 1869, and he accompanied me and readily gave me such information as I required. He was the peddler for both the brethren and sisters, carved thirty-four of the head-stones in the cemetery, and laid the stone walks at the Middle Family.

Approaching the lands from the west the first object that attracts the eye is the ruins of the old grist-mill. It is one corner of solid masonry, rising to the height of 45 feet. When the mill ceased to be of value it was sold. The new proprietor blew it up with dynamite, in order to extend his stone quarry underneath it. The dam is at a very narrow part of the stream hard by, composed of heavy beams. The mill race was covered from the dam to its junction with the mill. A part still remains. A few feet north of the mill may be seen the foundation of the

miller's home. The first miller was Jeremiah Ingalls, a member of the Mill Family.

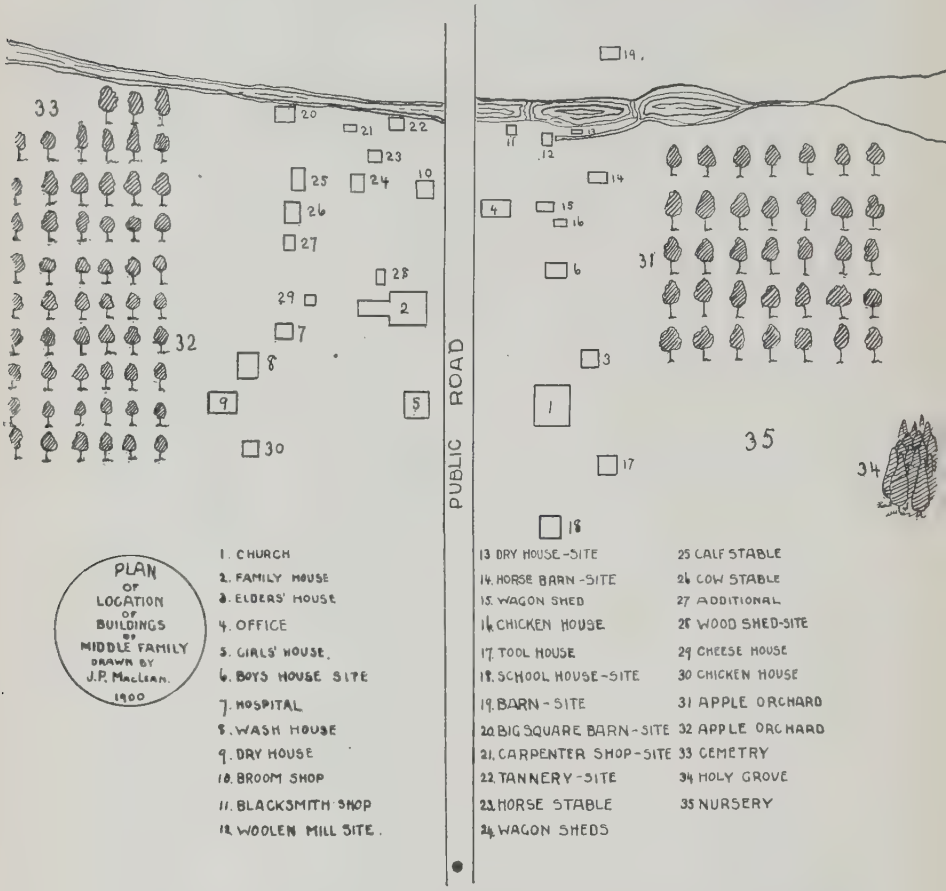


Proceeding eastward, leaving the Hemlock Grove, we next came to the site of the Mill Family, not a single building of

which remains; nor are the foundations in a good state of preservation, save that of the saw-mill, close by the great dam of earth and stone. All this destruction has taken place since its desertion by its last inhabitants. These buildings were all of wood, with sandstone foundations. The mill building proper was removed, while the remaining buildings were destroyed by fire. While Doan Creek is narrow at this point, yet there is a marked declivity of the land towards the banks of the stream. The residence was on the bank, so built, in all probability, for the purpose of having a basement kitchen. The wall for the cheese house commenced at the bed of the stream. The never-failing spring ran through the wash house. The barns (marked 3, 3, in the accompanying diagram) were on the south side on high land overlooking that on which the other buildings were placed. These barns were connected with the residence by a roadway, now abandoned. The bridge remains in a ruined condition. This was the bridge crossed by the patrons of the saw-mill from the south. The buildings were arranged for the two-fold purpose of health and convenience. The dam, although well built, at times was a source of some danger during freshets. But such breaks as occurred were repaired without delay, unless unavoidable. As an additional protection willows were planted, which also extended along the embankments. At the present time there is a broad space enlarging the dam, built as an extension of Cleveland's boulevard system. Another arm of the same system extends a bridge and roadway between the site of the mill and that of the residence.

The family sometimes called the North, also the Second, but generally known as the Mill Family, for its existence depended largely on the grist-mill to the west and the saw-mill at the dam. When in the highest degree of their prosperity they were great sources of income. The saw-mill turned out lumber, and vessels of various kinds that met with a ready and profitable sale. The water from the spring was carried to the residence through pipes, and being soft, was used for such purposes as cooking, washing and bathing. In everything the sisters were favored as well as the brethren, not only in the matter of convenience, but in the power to produce and sell.

Of the Center or Middle Family the greater number of buildings still stand, a faithful witness of good workmanship and heavy and solid timbers. These have stood for a period of



more than forty years. All of them show the hand markings of neglect. Decay of the buildings commenced with the decay of the community. With the exception of the broom shop, painted red, there is scarcely a trace of paint on any of the buildings. Even the white church has the appearance of unpainted boards long exposed to rains. The buildings have every appearance of a long deserted village. Most of the buildings are

not used and those in use are neglected. Amidst the ruins, even the unpracticed eye can read the testimony of former prosperity.

My first approach to the village was from the northwest. The family residence and office appeared familiar when I caught the first distant view. I had seen them before. There can be no mistake. The impression was too vivid. That was my first appearance in that vicinity. Perhaps years ago I saw them in a dream, which dream was laid up in a substratum of my brain. I do not know. I only know I had seen them before.

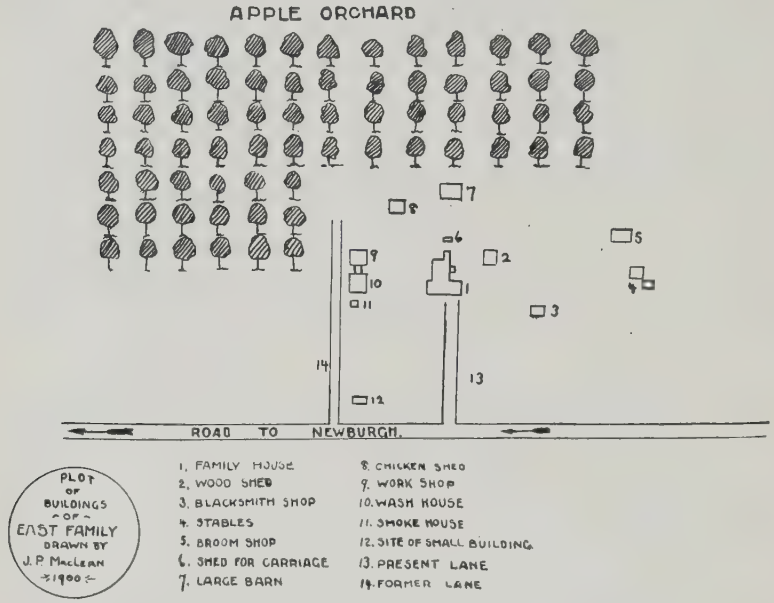
In this village were two brick buildings, the woolen mill and the school house. The former was blown up to make room for the boulevard, and not a trace remains, although the mill race is practically intact. When the children were too few in number to have a teacher the school building was sold and the brick removed. The buildings are connected with sandstone slabs regularly laid, so that in the muddiest season there was no effort in passing to the school house, church, office, nursery or hospital, girls' house, wash house, etc. With a few exceptions these stones are still in place. The buildings that have been removed, besides those already mentioned, were dry house (13), horse barn (14), big square barn (20), carpenter shop (21), tannery (22), and woodshed (28). Some of the buildings could be put in repair at comparatively small expense, notably the church, the office and the residence; but as there is no necessity for this, they will vanish in a few more years, even as those who erected them have passed away. A German family now lives in the office and a Hungarian family in the residence.

Besides agriculture the Middle Family depended on the sale of brooms, stocking yarn, leather and broom handles. The principal resource was broom making, which was carried on quite extensively, the brush having been bought in Illinois. The sisters manufactured bonnets, stockings, mittens, socks, gloves, etc., besides canning and drying fruit, making apple butter, etc.

The buildings of the East Family practically remain intact, although decay is written over all of them. The family residence is of about the same size and construction as that at the

Center. When the buildings were erected and when the family retired to the Center I have no record. It was abandoned since 1879, and probably not long anterior to the dissolution of the society.

This family was originally the Gathering Order, which consisted of four elders, two of each sex, where all were directed to go who desired to join the community, and where strangers



called to secure information respecting future membership. Many called in the fall of the year and when spring opened would withdraw. These were called "Winter Shakers." The principal resources of this family were the manufacture and sale of brooms and the selling of milk at the door.

The third and last trip was made with Mr. Ralph Hogan, who accompanied me for the purpose of taking such photographs as I desired, which accompany this work. In the three trips I found the ground muddy and in places almost impassable. It is probable that the Shakers improved their own roads, although the evidence is wanting.

IV. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The arts and sciences have already been indirectly treated and need not be specially pointed out. Their dress was not unlike that of the Quakers. The men wore their hair long behind, and the women had their heads enclosed in caps. Their dress was plain, severely so. In this that of the women was more striking and least attractive.

They did not associate with the world, save in the matter of gain. They sought no acquaintances, but lived strictly within themselves; but having frequent visits and communications with the parent Union Village.

The Western Reserve Historical Society possesses three MS. letters, which are here inserted, being of sufficient interest for preservation. These letters were not enclosed in envelopes, but endorsed on the back, one having a broken seal. The first is endorsed, Rhoda Watson.

"UNION VILLAGE Dec. 2d 1828.

Kind Sister Rhoda I received your handsome little present by the hand of the Brethren together with your kind love &c, for which I truly feel thankful for I wish to remember & be remembered every faithful cross-bearer, — I likewise was very much pleased to read your good determinations as expressed in the conclusion of your little letter; and I can assure you if you abide faithful in the calling whereunto you are called the end of your faith will be the salavation of your soul,—I am glad to hear of any one setting out to save themselves from this untowered generation.—

As to any Kindness or charitable feeling manifested by me while I was there I can make you heartily welcome I remember very well of paying a visit to your house when James was on his deathbed.—I felt willing to show kindness but I had but little opportunity that I remember of If I remember right you was unwell yourself when I was there and besides that and attending on James you had a young child, & was obliged to neglect it a little sometimes—perhaps on one of these occasions I might have tried to help a little, but I cannot re-

member of much, — however it seems that you accepted a willing mind—

It is a time of general health which blessing for one I enjoy and have since you saw me (in general)—So as a token of my well wishes I send you this little present,—I thought I must send you something that would be of use to you as probably you are in the habit of wearing a cap before now.—The chestnuts are quite a rarity with us, of course taste very good. — I have sent you a hymn noted down. — This may suffice to express my faith and determination—

Be so kind as to accept of my best gospel love and give it to as many as you feel — but in particular to Elder Ashbel — & Bro Rufus—Eldresses Lois & Sister Thankful & Sister Polly, &c.—for I do love them—

ANDREW C. HOUSTON."

The next is without date, but addressed to Thankful, Union Village. It is on paper that bears greater age than the above. How it was returned to North Union is unknown. "Thankful" is probably Thankful Stewart.

"*Kind Sisters Thankful and Polly* I cannot express the sensations of love and gratitude I owe you with the rest of my kind Elders for the blessings the kindness & good ministrations which I have received from you ever since my first acquaintance with you for which may I never cease to be thankful though tongue cannot express As we are now to be left destitute for a little season of the kind care and protection of our Elders O remember us in your prayers that we may be enablled to walk agreeable to your desires and not leaving a wound upon so glorious a cause as we are called to obey I feel like one among my Brethren and Sisters that means to be faithful while you are absent from us and through life for I do feel thankful for the privilege which I now enjoy through the blessings of the gospel O may we again have the privilege of seeing all our Elders that we may be the better enabled to make our thankfulness more clearly manifest be so kind as to accept of my best love and give it to all with whome I have had any acquaintance and all that belong to the family of Christ

and Mother for may I ever esteem love and union as the greatest treasure on the earth—In haste.

So kindly Farewell,

RHODA WATSON."

The third letter is of a different nature and calls up traveling of other days. It had been sealed and on the back was "To Sister Rhoda North Union Center Family."

"SECOND FAMILY UNION VILLAGE, Oct. 6, 1848.

Respected Sister Rhoda.—I now undertake to write a few lines to let you know how we got along on our journey. The Brethren both turned sick soon after we left the shore and could not sit up part of the way. Elderess Sister did not own that she was sick.

The swells were so high and rough that I became sickened though not so much as to vomit. By dinner time we were some better & eat some. after this we were well enough, with the exception of a dizziness in the head. We left Cleveland at 9 o'clock and reached Sandusky half past 2. here we put up at a carr office, took supper and learned that the morning train did not leave until 10 oclock Friday, and at Springfield stay over night, then reach Dearfield by 8 oclock Saturday morning. Rather than tarry so long by the way, we chose to go along with the train that ran in connection with the boat that we had left. This train had but two passenger carrs attached to it, and think there were about 50 people in the one we were in and not so many in the other. We left Sandusky a little before 6 evening and got to Springfield half past 3 morning.

Our tickets told us that we were 134 miles from the Lake.

This train runs no farther than to this place & back again. therefore we all moved ourselves & baggage out, and into another that runs from this place to Cincinnati. We started I think, about 4, passed through Xenia soon after day break and reached Dearfield* just at 8 oclock Fri morning. No one but ourselves stoped here, and at that moment the Lebanon Hack drove up and took us in. We had no rain on our way,

*Now South Lebanon.

and here we found the roads as dusty as they were when we left home, and a great change as far as the eye could behold the leaves on the trees were mostly red or yellow, the earth and grass seemed parched and dry. The Hack landed us safe at our door by 10 Oclock Friday morning. The Brethren and Sisters were not looking for us untill next day. Nothing very especial took place while we were absent, and we found the family in tolerable good health, and glad to see our safe return. The next day after we got home it began to rain and was showery for three days. Since that we have fair weather and a pleasant time for our good friends from Pleasant Hill,* a carriage load of them have come to Union Village, and are visiting the Second Family to-day. we have learned some pretty little songs from them. Their names are as follows Elder Brother Joel Shields and Henry Daily Elder Sister Sophia Vooris & Elenor Hatfield.

Brother Timothy wishes to send a pleasant spinner by the Brethren, and he has not sufficient time to make one before they start, therefore he sends one that has been in use long enough to be proved very good.

With much pleasure we will long remember our visit at North Union, and not at this time return our warmest thanks and best love love love.

I would like to have my particular love given to all the Sisters, and especially to the young Sisters. Were it not for being so tedious I would love to name them all, one by one, but I think I have already been tedious enough so

Farewell in love,

Julia Darrow.

Sister Rhoda."

These letters are written in a clear, legible hand, and probably indicate the general nature of the correspondence between the communities of North Union and Union Village.

It is not to be inferred that their interests were wholly within themselves. The general reputation of the Shakers is that they are kind to the unfortunate and needy and never

* A Shaker Community in Kentucky.

turn away one empty handed from their door. Unfortunately, however, when one leaves them, even though he or she may have been a faithful follower for years and rendered most excellent service, that one is abandoned and "given over to the world, the flesh and the devil." While this is equally true of all the religious sects it does not redound to their credit. It is not the Spirit of the Great Exemplar.

On the other hand, it must be noted that while the Shaker was capable of driving a sharp bargain, yet in his dealings he was honest. His wares were exactly as represented. Shaker goods have always been synonomous with honest productions. Their fabrics were made of the best material, and always found a ready market.

As may be inferred, the sexes lived apart, although in the same building. In reference to the Middle Family, the brethren lived on the north and the sisters on the south side of the main building. In the days of greatest prosperity those who made brooms lived over the shop and some at the office. At first the children were at the East Family; when removed to the Middle Family the boys had a house not far from the office, and the girls a residence across the street from the church. The children were under the immediate charge of a keeper. No child under ten was taken into the family unless accompanied by its father or mother, or both.

The separate families had their own dining-rooms attached to the main residence. In 1870 there were two long tables, the brethren served at the one and the sisters at the other. The ministry always was served at a separate table, and the children had their repast after all the others had finished their meal.

It was the practice for all to kneel before and after eating; no loud talking was permitted during meals, and only such conversation as became necessary for the serving of the food. They had breakfast at six o'clock, dinner at twelve and supper at six. The signal for rising in the morning and for their meals and meetings was given by a bell. All were supplied with wholesome food in sufficient quantity. Pork was eschewed, on the grounds that it was not wholesome. Some of the members refused to eat meat in any form. Alcoholic

stimulants or ardent spirits was not allowed to be used, save when prescribed by a physician as a medicine, and even that toleration became almost obsolete.

The children were cared for with great kindness, and the government was strict, and the force usually applied was moral suasion. At the proper age the child was sent to school, under the instruction of one of the community, where the common branches were taught. The last teacher was Miss Elmina Phillips, daughter of Elder Freeman Phillips, of the Mill Family, who joined the society in 1841. Miss Phillips passed so good an examination before the county board that it was always received without further trial. She left the community in 1875, and now resides in Cleveland. As the Shakers had enough children to form a district under the law they drew money from the public funds, but when the children became few in numbers the district was divided and assigned to others. The salary for the teacher's services, like that of all others, went into the common funds.

Labor was honorable amongst them. Whatever position one might hold, still he must labor with his hands. But the general spirit was to move slowly. There was not that incentive to energy, push and daring characteristic to the man of success. In the allotment of labor due consideration was allowed to adaptability, and when any one displayed an ingenuity in a certain line restrictions were not placed on him. Whatever growth and development that occurred were due to the energy manifested by a leader in that line, as already noted.

As the people lived up to their best ideas of health, there was, in consequence, but little sickness. Among them contagious diseases were unknown. In the early stages of the community their mode of practice was Thompsonian more than any other, but in later years they paid more attention to ventilating their sleeping apartments and dwellings, and by the reforms instituted sickness became almost unknown, and hence there was but little use for drugs and doctors. Still there were two doctors among them, one of whom was a graduate of Yale College and took lectures under Professor Sullivan. In extreme cases they were known to take the Water Cure. A hospi-

tal, called the Nursery, was provided for the sick, and there all attention demanded was administered with the utmost kindness. As already intimated, the hospital was seldom used, but under the laws regulating their manners and customs such a place, when needed, was of the utmost convenience.

Under the regulations adopted it must go unquestioned that the whole tendency was towards longevity. During the first

SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF HOSPITAL.

forty-eight years of the society's existence, there were ninety-two deaths, fifty males and forty-two females. The average age was over forty-nine. Nine were over eighty, thirteen over seventy, twelve over sixty and ten over fifty years of age. Besides these there were three children under two years, and one boy under eight who was killed by an accidental fall from a steep bank below the grist-mill.

The funerals were attended with but little ceremony. When a person died among them the body was kept from twenty-four to forty-eight hours, and even longer if circumstnces so required. The friends and relatives of the deceased outside the community living at a reasonable distance were notified of the hour of the funeral. The body was laid out and placed in a plain coffin, having a lid at the head, and was then placed in the lower hall of the dwelling, just before the commencement of the ceremony. The members of the society then assembled in their chapel, usually with those from the other families. The meeting opened with a solemn song, or an appropriate hymn composed for the occasion, after which the elder stepped out and addressed those present, in which he endeavored to impress the thought that they too were born to die, and whatever things were lovely and of good report in the life or character of the deceased, they should be imitated by the living. Short addresses were sometimes made by others, in which the brethren and sisters participated. At the close of this ceremony all proceeded to the burial. As they passed out of the hall they took the last farewell look at the remains of the departed by passing on either side of the coffin with noiseless tread, until they formed two abreast, brethren with brethren and sisters with sisters, and in this way they moved slowly and silently to the grave. Arriving at the place of interment, the coffin was carefully removed from a vehicle and then lowered into the grave. The brethren then filled the grave, in which all usually bore a part. While this was proceeding there was either singing or speaking. They claimed, in their later history, that the spirit of the departed often attended the obsequies and communicated, through some inspired instrument, words of cheer and comfort to the living.

The grave having been closed, the one in charge, then doffing his hat, dismissed the attendants in the following words: "Having performed the last kind act to our departed friend, we may all return to our homes." No badge of mourning was worn, but the dress or suit worn on Sunday was donned.

The burial ground is located in the extreme northwestern corner of the apple orchard connected with the Middle Family.

The space so attached is eighty feet square, surrounded by pine trees. On the east and south exterior is an avenue of thirty-five feet hemmed in by a row of mulberry trees, the leaves of which they used for silk-worms. The burial plat proper is divided into four sections by two avenues, ten feet in width, running north and south and east and west. The females were buried on the north and the males on the south side. The

SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF BURIAL GROUNDS.

burial was in ridge rows. The place, while kept plain, yet was attended with care.

I visited this spot every trip I made. I found the burial ground fully in keeping with the deserted village. The word ruin, or dilapidation, was written everywhere. The tombstones were in all positions, from the erect to the one flat on the surface. One grave had been opened, and others bore indications of the same.

They commenced the interments at the extreme west side. All the graves had the headstones in the first row. There were 21 headstones in the first row, 19 in the second, 17 in the third, 16 in the fourth. Then came the avenue. There were 12 in the fifth, 3 in the sixth and 2 in the seventh. I counted 13 graves without stones in the sixth and 9 in the seventh. There were probably other graves, but I failed to identify them.

With but few exceptions the only inscriptions are simply initials of the name. All are made out of sandstone save one. In the extreme northwestern corner, lying flat on the grave is a marble stone, with the following inscription: "Our Mother Lydia Russell consort of Elisha Russell died June 29, 1839, aged 63 yrs. 10 ms. 28 ds. This stone was erected by her daughters in memory of a dear mother."

In the fourth row, eighth stone from the south: "Elisha Russell died October 15, 1862, aged 83." In the same row, third grave from the north: "O. M. T.* died May 23, 1858, aged 39 years." In the seventh row, fifth grave from the south: "In memory of Sewel G. Thayer who departed this life Feb. 27, 1881 aged 78 yrs. 7 mo." Same row: "In memory of Rodney E. Russell who departed this life Sept. 3, 1880, aged 84 yrs. 3 mo. 3 ds."

V. GOVERNMENT.

The government is a theocracy, all the various communities in the United States being subservient to that at Mt. Lebanon, New York. The ministry is the highest order in the selection of which the general membership has no choice. The community is under their immediate jurisdiction. Then come the elders. The legal trustee is the one in whom the land is vested that the laws of the state might be complied with. The ministry was a higher, spiritual state than that of the other elders. To a certain degree it was removed from the others, and such associations as occurred was formal. While the first ministry in the incipient stage preached openly to the world, it was not true when the organization had become completed. They delivered discources to the membership, but during the religious

*Olive Melvina Torrey.

services known as Public Meetings, when non-members were admitted to the worship as spectators, the ministry remained in the second story of their apartments. About six feet above the floor there was in each apartment—men and women—an aperture in the wall through which the ministry could see the worshippers below.

Their mode of government, as already intimated, was to combine everything within themselves. They were a law unto themselves. They did not go to law if the same could be avoided, but sometimes were drawn into it by seceding members. In such cases they defended themselves by employing the ablest counsel that could be obtained. Their standing counsel, on all legal questions, for nearly forty years, was Samuel Starkweather, of Cleveland. They never lost a case, for the reason that he never undertook one for them unless he was positive that they were in the right.

An extraordinary case occurred in the courts of Cuyahoga county, which was a test one in regard to the validity of their Church Covenant. It originated by a sister, who, after having been a member of and residing in the society for the space of fifteen years, withdrew from it and married a reckless man, and they connived together to sue for the services which she had rendered during her membership. It was admitted that the services had been rendered, but inasmuch as she had signed the covenant, in which she had voluntarily pledged those services to a consecrated purpose, the society was thereby released from all pecuniary obligations.

The interest excited by the trial of this case was very great, as manifested by the crowds attending the hearing, as it presented for the first time for decision, in northern Ohio, a question which involved a cardinal principle of Shakerism. Eminent counsel was employed on both sides, the defendants having retained Governor Reuben Wood and Judge Starkweather. The plaintiffs attempted to avail themselves of the popular prejudice which then existed, but their arguments were based on the assumption that the existence of such a society was against public policy, by its alleged opposition to the union of the sexes in matrimony, and by their advocacy of celibacy.

Governor Wood, in an able argument, overthrew the proposition of the opposing counsel by expounding the law, and referring to the decisions of the Supreme Court in the states of Maine and New Hampshire. He was followed by Judge Starkweather, who, in the ablest speech of his life, showed that the tree is known by its fruits, that these people called Shakers, by the simplicity and purity of their lives, by their exemption from the strife of worldly ambition, and by the consecration of themselves and all they possessed to their religious faith, but imitated the example of the Christians in Apostolic days more than any other sect in Christendom, and that their views on the subject of matrimony were in no way variant from the teachings of the Apostle Paul.

The result of this trial was a victory for the Shakers, and settled a question over which they could never again be disturbed. It is but a matter of justice to Judge Starkweather to state that for the valuable services he had long rendered them as legal adviser, he never made any charge or received any compensation, save what the society deemed best to bestow upon him.

They never took any part in politics, nor voted at elections, but paid their taxes according to law. They took no oaths in the courts of law, but affirmed to tell the truth of what they knew concerning the case at issue. They bore no arms, nor studied the art of war. During the Civil War two were drafted into their country's service. Although a release could have been procured by the payment of a certain sum, yet this they refused, because, as they claimed, it was contrary to their principles. One of them maimed himself and thus escaped. The other went into the hospital service and took care of the sick, owing to his scruples about bearing arms.

It would be unreasonable to claim that under a system as practiced by the Shakers all would live up to their ideals. Every community has its weak membership; but those not in harmony with the ideas promulgated sooner or later retired from the organization.

They were very fortunate in the selection of their legal trustees, for they never suffered materially by defalcations.

VI. RELIGION.

Public meetings, in the days of their strength, were held every Sunday at the church, opening usually about the first of May and continued until the first of September. The services commenced at half-past 10 o'clock A. M. Their exercises consisted in singing, marching and sometimes in dancing, according to the movement of the Spirit. They believed in the Bible as a revelation from God, but not in plenary inspiration. They believed it was a record of God in past dispensations, but not the word itself, for they claimed that could not be limited nor circumscribed to the boundaries of any book. They believed in books as records of the word of God, of present revelations, from which they read and expounded occasionally on Sunday, in their public meetings, in the attempt to prove from the Bible that they had the word of God given to them in this day, adapted to the age in which we live, of which they kept a record.

On such occasions the elders did most of the reading and speaking, although others, of both sexes, were not prohibited when impressed by the Spirit. They believed that "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty."

Other meetings were held in the family during the week, on Wednesday and Friday evenings, at half-past 7, called Union Meetings, where the brethren and sisters met together in different rooms, for the purpose of having an hour's social conversation on temporal or spiritual subjects, and whatever tended to promote union, peace and harmony.

On Wednesday and Thursday evenings, at 8 o'clock, they had family meetings, where they went forth in their usual manner of worship, in singing and marching, two abreast, motioning with their hands, and sometimes toward the close of the meeting they had a lively dance, quickened by the Spirit.

Their solemn meetings were not wholly confined to the church and the family chapels. When Shakerism was at its highest pitch they assembled in the church and there formed a procession and marched to the Holy Grove equidistant between the Middle and East Families, and in the woods worshipped God in His first temple. It must not be inferred that all their

services were simple, for in the early history of that *ism* there were extravagant performances, but time gradually eliminated them.

VII. SHAKER THEOLOGY.

Men are more sensitive in regard to their religious views than any other opinions held. Every man should be accorded the right to express himself on this point, if for no other reason than that, owing to the bias of the human mind, it is so easily misjudged or misinterpreted. On this subject I shall follow the exact language of James S. Prescott, their historian. In the Prescott MS. it is stated:

"*First*—They hold that God is dual, male and female, Father and Mother; that these two attributes exist in the Deity; that these two principles are exhibited throughout the universe of God; wherever we turn our eyes, we behold these two principles, male and female, throughout the animal kingdom; if we turn our eyes to the vegetable kingdom we find the same; if we turn our eyes to the universal kingdom, we find there the same two great principles, 'positive and negative'; if we look into the Bible we find the same principles recognized from Genesis to St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, where he says, 'For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and God-head, so that they are without excuse,' Romans I, 20. According to Moses, among the things which are made was man: 'So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them,' Genesis I, 27. Thus the duality of God is established by holy writ.

"*Second*—They hold that 'Christ was the Lord from heaven a quickening Spirit; created male and female in the image of God; that his first appearance was in the male, in the man Jesus; his second appearance was in the female: Ann Lee, born in Manchester, England, in 1736, on the 29th of February; received the revelation of Christ in 1770; came over to America in 1774. First church was organized in 1792.

"*Third*—They recognize two orders of people on the earth. 1st, The rudimental or Adamic order, where all who wish to

marry and populate the earth are required to keep the law of nature, *i. e.,* have no sexual intercourse except for offspring; whatsoever is more than this, cometh of evil. They do not condemn marriage where there are fit subjects to improve the race, if they keep it where it belongs, in the Adamic order. They say it is not a Christian institution, but a 'civil right,' therefore they abstain from it, as Christ and the Apostles did. 2d, The spiritual order is where all who enter it are required to keep the 'higher law,' 'the law of grace and truth'; have no intercourse between the sexes, except social, and that which can be enjoyed and perpetuated in the 'spirit world.' They hold to living lives of virgin celibacy, as being the highest, holiest and happiest life a person can attain to while in the form. They hold to a separation between these two orders, and between church and state.

"*Fourth*—They hold to a community of interest in all things, where 'no man has aught of the things he possesses he calls his own, but they have all things common.'

"*Fifth*—They hold to the doctrine of an oral confession of sins to God, before living witnesses, as a door of hope into the church, and as indispensable to finding the power of salvation. This is the first and initiating step into their order. Not because the Catholics have derived and retained the form of confession from the primitive church; not because it is written in the Bible 'confess your faults (*i. e.,* sins) one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.' When souls are laboring under deep convictions of sin, they want some confidential friend before whom they can open their whole lives, without fear or reservation, and make a clean breast of it before God. And this friend they can always find in both sexes in the Shaker order. As Joshua said to Achan: 'Make confession unto Him (*i. e.,* God), and tell me now what thou hast done: hide it not from me.' This was typical of a true Gospel confession. Here was a confession made to God before a living witness. Joshua VII, 19.

"*Sixth*—They hold to dancing as an act of divine worship. The first founders of the institution were led into it by spirit influence, and many times by an irresistible power, which at-

tended them by night and by day. Hence they were greatly persecuted by their orthodox neighbors, it being so new and strange, and so contrary to the fixed creeds, lifeless forms and ceremonies of the churches,—Christian in name, but pagan in practice.

"They say that dancing was the original mode of worship of God's ancient people, and that it was only fulfilling ancient prophecies that it should be restored in the latter day (See Jeremiah XXXI, Psalms and various other Scriptures). Hence dancing and marching have become their established form of worship.

"*Seventh*—They believe the resurrection is synonymous with regeneration; that it is a gradual growth and rising out of the death of the first Adam, into the life and Spirit of Christ,—a resurrection of the soul and not of the body. They believe with St. Paul 'that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God'; 'that there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body'; that when they put off the former, the natural, they put on the latter, the spiritual; that when the natural body once dies and returns to dust, it can never be resurrected, changed or transformed into spirit, without counteracting the immutable laws of nature.

"*Eighth*—They believe in a probationary state after this life, that God is just; that the millions of earth's inhabitants who have died and gone into the 'spirit world,' who never had a chance to hear and obey the Gospel of salvation in this life, will have an offer of it there; as it is written, 'For Jesus Christ also hath once suffered, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit, by which He went and preached to the spirits in prison,' etc. 1 Peter III, 18, 19; and in IV, 6; 'For this cause was the Gospel preached also to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, and live according to God in the Spirit,' etc.

"*Ninth*—They believe that Christ is to judge the world through His people, as it is written, 'Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?' 1 Corinthians VI, 2, 3. Know ye not that we shall judge angels? They believe that this work of judgment has begun on the earth, that the hour of his judgment is come, Rev. XIV, 7; 'And Jesus said, For judgment I

am come into this world,' John IX, 39; 'And judgment was given to the saints of the Most High,' Daniel VII, 22; some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after. This work is also progressive and is inseparably connected with the resurrection of the soul.

"*Tenth*—They believe that every man will have to atone for his own sins, and work out his own salvation; that Christ came to set us an 'example that we should follow his steps,' and thereby save us from our sins, and not in them. They believe in being saved by the blood of Christ, *i. e.*, by living his life: 'the blood is the life thereof'; 'this is eating his flesh and drinking his blood,' John VI, 53, 54: thus becoming incorporated into his spirit, and being *at-one-ment* will ever avail him anything, and every one will have to become personally righteous by doing right. 'He that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous,' 1 John III, 7."

VIII. SPIRIT MANIFESTATIONS.

The Shakers claim that communications from departed spirits occurred among them several years anterior to the Rochester rappings. Elder James S. Prescott was requested by the editor of the *Cleveland Weekly Herald* to write out an account of these early manifestations at North Union. His article was copied into the *Shaker and Shakess* for April, 1874, and was made use of by Nordhoff in his "Communistic Societies of the United States," published in London in 1875. As the Prescott MS. contains some important features not given in the *Herald* article, I will more closely follow it than the one already published.

During the latter part of July, 1838, some young sisters were walking together on the north bank of Doan Creek, between the Mill Family and the grist-mill, near the hemlock grove, when they heard some beautiful singing, which seemed to be in the air just above their heads. They were taken by surprise, listened with admiration and then hastened home to report the phenomenon. Some of these girls afterwards became mediums. Prior to this manifestation word had come to the elders by letter that there was a marvelous work going on in

some of the eastern societies, notably at Mount Lebanon and Watervleit in New York, and when it reached those in the west all should know it; and every individual felt that there was a heart-searching God in Israel. These manifestations were the greatest they ever expected to witness on the earth, being more than an ordinary revival of religion.

The invisibles commenced their work one Sunday among

EAST VIEW OF HEMLOCK GROVE.

the little girls in the childrens' order, while in meeting of their own with their care-takers, the doors were closed, when suddenly involuntary exercises commenced, such as going with great speed across the room, back and forth, with great velocity, nor could they stop, nor be stopped, by any human agency. A messenger was dispatched in haste to the elders, with the message that something uncommon was going on in the girls' department. The elders, then engaged in the regular religious services, brought the same to a close just as soon as

circumstances would permit, hastened to the scene to witness the phenomena. They saw the little girls were under an influence not their own. They were hurrying around the room, back and forth, as swiftly as if driven by the wind. When attempts were made to arrest them, it was found impossible, because that which possessed them was irresistible. Suddenly they were prostrated upon the floor, apparently unconscious of

SCENE ON SHAKER DAM TAKEN FROM MILL-DAM.

what was going on around them. With their eyes closed, muscles strained, joints stiff, they were taken up and laid on beds, mattresses, etc. Then they began to hold conversations with their guardian spirits, and others, some of whom they once knew in the form, making graceful motions with their hands and speaking audibly, so that all in the room heard and understood, and formed some idea of their whereabouts in spiritual realms they were explaining. Alternately and at intervals they would sing some heavenly and melodious songs, motioning

gracefully with their hands, which surpassed anything they ever heard before. Sometimes they would appear to be flying, and their arms and hands would go, apparently as swift as the wings of a humming bird; at other times they would appear to be swimming across a river, beyond which was a plain, *i. e.*, the rudimental sphere; beyond this was a beautiful country, far surpassing anything language could describe. They were taken to the cities of the redeemed and to the mansions of the blessed.

About the same time the boys began to see visions, and their gifts were similar to that of the girls. These children were, for the greater part, between ten and twelve years of age, and entirely incapable of feigning these manifestations, nor could they have been guilty of collusion, trickery, fraud or anything of that description. All they had to do was to be passive in the power that enveloped them. Adults of both sexes, whose physical organization would possibly admit of mediumship, were soon under the same influence.

The following is the first song given direct from the "spirit world," sung by a young sister while in a vision, which occurred in August, 1838. Her guardian angel called the poem

THE SONG OF A HERALD.

Prepare, O ye faithful
To fight the good fight.
Sing, O ye redeemed,
Who walk in the light,
Come low, O ye haughty,
Come down and repent.
Disperse, O ye naughty,
Who will not relent.

For Mother is coming,
O hear the glad sound,
To comfort her children
Wherever they're found,
With jewels and robes
Of fine linen
To clothe the afflicted withal.

In the year 1843, when the Millerites were looking for Christ to come literally, through the literal clouds, he was

among the Shakers spiritually, in spiritual clouds of his witnesses, accompanied by legions of the invisible hosts. He took up his abode at North Union for the space of three months, during which time none were allowed to go off the premises, except the trustees on public business, or needful occasion. During this extraordinary visit he made himself known through mediums of both sexes, and by inspired communications, among which were brief sketches of his own life, written by his own hand, corresponding with what is written concerning him in the New Testament. Likewise a short communication from each one of his beloved disciples, bearing testimony to the truth of what the Holy Savior had written, all of which they had in MS. copied from the original.

The most important event to the Shakers in "spirit manifestations," took place at Mount Lebanon, New York, in 1843, "which will sooner or later interest all mankind." It was in the giving of the SACRED ROLL AND BOOK, as a word of warning to the inhabitants of the earth, that the judgments of God were nigh, even at the door. Of what has taken place since that time let the world be judge. They are called calamities by the world, and these have not yet ceased, but grow more and more serious every year. What will be the end of these things no one can tell. As true as God spake by Noah to the antediluvians, even so has he spoken to the world in these days through the Shakers by the SACRED ROLL AND BOOK.

The Shakers believe that this ROLL might be called the Bible of the Nineteenth Century, adapted to the day and age in which we live, and, as such, no doubt will be handed down to generations yet unborn,—that in the ages to come God's own book, written by His own Hand, may be left as His handprints on the sands of time.

The Shakers claim they have as much evidence to believe that the SACRED ROLL AND BOOK were given through a holy man of God, raised from his childhood in the church at Mount Lebanon, who wrote and spake as he was moved by the Holy Spirit, as they have that any part of the New Testament was so written, and more too; because the former has never been

perverted by commentators and translators from their original meaning.

In this new Revelation the doctrine of the trinity is exploded, and two great principles established, viz., a FATHER and a MOTHER in the DEITY. On these two hang all the law and the prophets, and are the foundation principles of Shaker theology. All others are tributary to them.

The Shakers did not withhold this new Revelation from the world; but performed as they were commanded at the time it was communicated. Five hundred copies were distributed gratuitously to the nations of the earth as follows: One copy each was sent to the president and vice president of the United States, the various heads of the different departments at Washington, to the governors of the various states and territories of the American Union, to all the crowned heads of Europe and the heads of all foreign countries, so far as civilization extended and access could be had through their ministers and consuls at Washington. Of all these sent out, the King of Sweden alone responded.

The spirit manifestations continued for a period of seven years in succession, in different forms and phases, in which nearly all nations were represented by the spirits of their dead, taking possession of living mediums, speaking in their own language, and acting out all the peculiar characteristics of the nations to which they beolnged.

IX. CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL.

Miss Elmina Phillips, at my request, placed at my disposal her unpublished MS. entitled, "Christmas Among the Shakers in the Olden Time."

Probably the English founders of Shakerism in America brought with them the English custom of celebrating Christmas, and introduced it among their American converts. Certainly fifty years ago, when the congregational descendants of the Puritans in New England were going about their usual employments on Christmas as on any other day, their Shaker descendants in northern Ohio were keeping it as the one great holiday of the year.

There was a stir of Christmas preparation in the air two or three weeks beforehand. Individual members had no money to spend for Christmas gifts, since all the purchasing for the community was done by the trustee deacons and deaconesses; but it was understood that it was to be a day of good cheer and that there would be gifts for all.

The eldresses and trustee sisters might be found occasionally in private consultation, likely to result in a trip of the latter to the little town, now grown to be a great city, where such things as they could not raise or manufacture for themselves were obtained. And sometimes a rap at the eldress's door would bring the family deaconess to the door with an air of Christmas mystery, and through the crack she opened to receive your message might be heard the click of shears, indicating that new goods were being cut.

The kitchen deaconess was busy superintending the picking over of the apples, setting the barrels of choicest ones convenient for Christmas day, inspecting the pickles and preserves, and honey, etc., consulting with the trustees and the cook and baker, which consultations were likely to result in cakes and puddings and chicken and other pies, etc., in due season.

You are thinking, perhaps, as is probably true, that the New England housewives must have brought recollections of Thanksgiving to Ohio, where Thanksgiving day had not yet been introduced. But this was only one phase of the preparation—chiefly the day was kept as holy day. Much of the worship of the Shakers consisted of singing, and they made their own hymns and tunes; and Christmas would hardly have been Christmas if a company of the young people had not gone around in the early morning singing a Christmas song to awaken the family. So the favorite hymnist was quietly reminded, now by one young singer, then another, that a new song for Christmas morning would be wanted. And the company of singers must be chosen, and copies of the new song privately written and distributed to each one, with the music for those that could read it; for opportunities must be caught to practice it on the quiet, since it would not be Christmas like if there were no mystery about it.

There were many musical young people among them at that time, and I have known one hymnist to be applied to for a new song for two separate companies of singers, neither company knowing of the other till they met on their rounds in the morning.

And, as the day drew near, the elders did not fail to counsel the people in meeting that if there were any differences among them they should be reconciled, that there might be nothing to mar the Christmas good-will.

On Christmas eve, at half-past seven, at the sound of the bell, all retired to their rooms, and one read aloud and the others listened to the story from John XIII of the washing of the disciples' feet. Then each two washed each other's feet, "and when they had sung a hymn they went out," if they chose, to make any final preparations for the morrow.

This was the time usually chosen by the Christmas singing band for the final, and probably the only full rehearsal of their morning song; and, as if casually, by twos and threes, they took their way to some shop sufficiently remote from the dwelling house that their voices would not be heard there, and in which the brother in charge of the building had agreed to have a good fire, and to let the members of the company in by signal. When they were satisfied that all knew the song, some young brother volunteered to waken all the company in due time in the morning and they separated for the night. At nine o'clock all was dark and silent in the village.

Next morning as early as half-past four the singers met, perhaps in the kitchen, and partook of some light refreshment, set ready the night before just to put them in voice, and then started out to sing, first in the halls of the principal dwelling, then at every house in the little village, in which several people lived.

By the time they had gone all around the family, if there was sleighing, a span of horses and sleigh was likely to stand convenient, and the company merrily started off to sing their song at one of the other families a mile away. If they met a sleighload from the other family coming to sing to them, as they sometimes did, they hailed each other and kept on their

way, sure of a warm welcome, though not of surprising and waking the friends where they were going.

And after breakfast, as all rose from the table and kneeled for a moment in silent thanksgiving together, the new song was probably sung again in the dining-room, the kitchen sisters coming in to listen to or join in the singing.

At 9 A. M. the singers met to select and rehearse the hymns to be sung at the church meeting at the meeting house.

At 10 A. M. came union meeting, which was a number of social meetings held at the same hour, the brethren usually going to the sisters' rooms.

The brethren and sisters were seated in two rows facing each other at opposite sides of the room; doubtless it sounds more stiff to alien ears than to one brought up from childhood in the customs of the community. There was cheerful chat of this and other Christmas days, and singing of new and old songs, and passing around of pans of cracked nuts and pop-corn, etc.

At 11 o'clock lunch was carried around to the rooms in big pans by some of the young brethren and sisters—great quarter sections of the most delicious cake, if memories may be trusted, and slices of creamy, home-made cheese and whitest bread and pie.

At 1 P. M. all the families assembled at the meeting house. The services were the same as at the usual Sunday meetings, except that there were special hymns and special readings from scriptures, old and new.

After meeting baskets of choice apples were carried around and the gifts which had been prepared for each one—usually some article of clothing somewhat nicer than common.

At 4 P. M. came the principal meal of the day, and afterwards a big basket was carried around to the rooms to receive offerings of clothing for the poor. All were expected to give something from their own store. And the day closed with quiet talk, probably interspersed with singing.

A SHAKER CHRISTMAS SONG.

Hail, hail, the beautiful morn hath dawned
The joy of angels and men;
The star of the east, with beauty beyond
All others has risen again.
Awake, disciples of Christ, and sing,
Your robes of gladness put on,
And precious gifts and offerings bring
Our loved Redeemer to crown.

Not gold, nor myrrh, nor frankincense sweet
Our Savior asks from our hands,
But hearts that with love and tenderness beat
To bless and comfort his lambs.
Go seek and feed my wandering sheep,
Forgive the erring and lost,
Thus prove your love for me, and thus reap
The precious fruits of the cross

X. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

The actions of men make history. In order to understand history the lives of the principal actors in making it must be given. The history of North Union is practically summed up in the lives of a few. Of the following characters depicted I confess I have no other knowledge save that given in the Prescott MS. In fact, I never heard of these men until revealed to me in the above record. It is but just to follow closely what is therein written of the lives of the founders of North Union. Their characters must be presented in the view held by those the best acquainted, however fulsome the praise may be. The order as given is also preserved.

The Russell Family.—As the origin of the North Union Family was largely due to the Russells, both in point of zeal and number, they naturally stand first in the record. There were three brothers, who emigrated from England between the years 1730 and 1745 and settled in or near Hebron and East Windsor, Connecticut. Their names were John, Jacob and William Russell. William once lived in West Windsor, Connecticut. His son Samuel, born about 1714, died in Windsor at the age of 65 years, and was buried in the cemetery of West Windsor

Square, Connecticut. He had four brothers, Ebenezer, Ellis, Jonathan and Hezekiah. Samuel had six children, Jacob, Stephen, Cornelius, John, Elizabeth and Rachel. Elizabeth married a man by the name of Ebenezer Young, one of the fourth generation from Miles Standish, of Plymouth Rock memory. Rachel married a man by the name of Cook, who once lived in Cherry Valley, New York. John, the fourth son of Samuel, married Polly Thrall, brought up a family and died in Rodman, Jefferson county, New York, June 22, 1844.

Jacob, the eldest son of Samuel, was born in West Windsor, Hartford county, Connecticut, April 26, 1746. He married Esther Dunham, of Hebron, Connecticut, where he lived about 66 years, and brought up a large family, consisting of six sons and six daughters, one of whom died when about two years old, named Jerusha. The names of those who survived were as follows:

Elijah, born July 18, 1773.
Esther, born October 23, 1774.
Jerusha 1st, born July 7, 1776.
Return, born March 1, 1778.
Elisha, born November 14, 1779.
Samuel, born January 15, 1783.
Jerusha 2d, born February 24, 1785.
Content, born May 7, 1787.
Ralph, born August 3, 1789.
Roxana, born March 10, 1792.
Obedience, born May 23, 1794.
Rodney, born May 15, 1796.

In the year 1812 Jacob Russell, with a number of his sons, emigrated to Ohio and settled in the township of Warrensville, Cuyahoga county, where he died on August 29, 1821, aged 75 years. His grave is not far from the site of the woolen-mill at the Center Family. It is marked, enclosed with pailings and has a pine tree growing over it. His wife Esther died in Solon, September 16, 1835, and was buried at Chagrin Falls, aged 85 years.

On his way to Ohio he was accompanied by the families of Elisha Russell and Nathaniel H. Risley, his son-in-law, in

all about twenty persons. They started on June 13 with three ox teams and heavily loaded wagons, and had not proceeded far before news came that war was declared between the United States and Great Britain, and, if they did not want to be massacred by the Indians, they must turn back; but not in the least intimidated, they continued their journey under the rays of the scorching sun, determined to see the end of their journey, each one contributing a full share in making the way comfortable, cheerful and happy. In many places the roads were new and almost impassible, especially after leaving Buffalo. At Cattaraugus Creek, in driving into the boat one team jumped overboard, and after much difficulty it was rescued. The next morning the party started again with the same fortitude and courage that actuated the pioneer, neither turning to the right nor left, but determined to accomplish the object sought. The roads were in a deplorable condition from Buffalo to Cleveland. On their arrival in the latter place they were informed that "there was but one frame house and that was a log cabin." They first stopped at Newburgh, and thence to Warrensville, and settled on sections 23 and 34. After a tedious journey of 600 miles all arrived safely at the destination during the latter part of August, 1812. They set at once to work and constructed shelter, making houses out of logs, cut and rolled together, notched at the corners. They had puncheon floors. The houses were roofed with elm bark. The chimneys were made of mud and sticks. Their neighbors consisted of the families of James Prentiss, who lived about half a mile south, and Asa Stiles and Daniel Warren, about a mile south. For a whole year they felt they were in jeopardy every hour, not knowing what might befall them, especially when the army, upon which they depended for protection, had been surrendered to the enemy at Detroit. They then believed that the Indians would be let loose upon them, and a general massacre would overtake them. Under this state of excitement the people were expecting the British and Indians to fall upon the country about Cleveland. They packed up their goods and prepared to move, but did not know in what direction. During the excitement the settlers in and around Cleveland threw away in the woods over $1,000 worth

of provisions. As provisions were scarce this greatly added to their discomfort. Wheat was worth $3.50 per bushel; salt, $24 per barrel, and mouldy at that. The only method they possessed of grinding their corn was to excavate a hollow in the end of a log, and placing the corn therein, pounded it with a heavy pestle hung to a spring pole. Such was the fear and consternation brought on by the war that people were afraid to work without keeping up a constant and vigilant watch, day and night, in order that the alarm be sounded.

Under such a consternation they worked as best they could, cutting down trees, cleaning off land and fencing their farms.

In 1810, Samuel Russell, son of Jacob Russell, emigrated from Chester, Massachusetts, to Aurora, Portage county, Ohio, where he lived to a good old age. In 1813, Elijah Russell, the oldest son of Jacob, emigrated from Rodman, New York, to Warrensville, where he lived and died at the age of 83 years. Return Russell, son of Jacob, emigrated from Rodman, New York, to Warrensville, in 1822, and died October 5, 1834, aged 55 years. Ralph came to Ohio in 1812. After being separated a distance of six hundred miles, most of them were gathered together and settled in Warrensville. Some of them asscribed this "to the overruling providence of God, that they should be the first founders of a branch of a community of people commonly called Shakers."

Ralph Russell.—The subject of this sketch was born in Windsor, Hartford county, Connecticut, August 3, 1789. In 1812 he emigrated to Warrensville. As previously noted, he visited Union Village in 1821, and became a convert to that form of faith usually called Shakerism, and at once set about its practice and promulgation. He was the originator and, for a season the active and efficient leader of the North Union Society. It was said of him that "he was a burning and shining light, and many were willing for a reason to rejoice in his light;" but when a superior light and gift came from the church at Union Village in the person of Ashbel Kitchell, in the spring of 1826, Ralph could not vie with Ashbel, and hence Ashbel's light and gift increased, while that of Ralph gradually de-

creased, until he lost his influence and leadership among the people.

Ralph subsequently withdrew from the society, went to Solon, a few miles distant, bought a farm, moved his family, and there lived until his death, which occurred December 28, 1866, in the 78th year of his age.

Ralph Russell was tall and straight, about six feet in height, well proportioned, dark complexion, black hair and eyes and of a winning manner, mild and persuasive in argument, naturally of a sociable and genial disposition, and was kind and hospitable to strangers.

Richard W. Pelham.—Although Richard W. Pelham was a member of the society at Union Village, yet he figures so largely in the formation and history of North Union that he may be said to have been a member of the latter also. He was born May 8, 1797, in what is now Indiana, two miles above the Falls of Ohio. He was the youngest of eight children, and his mother dying soon after his birth, his father gave him to his uncle, E. L. Pelham, a physician and Methodist preacher. Not having any children of his own, the uncle adopted Richard into his family and reared him with great care and tenderness. He then lived on the east side of the Chesapeake Bay, called the "Eastern shore of Maryland," in Talbot county. When Richard was eleven years of age, the uncle removed from Maryland to Lyons, New York. At the age of thirteen, during a religious revival, he joined the Methodists, but before reaching his twentieth year, he was dissatisfied with his church relations. Being disappointed in not finding that holiness of life, that purity of heart, that power over sin and a sinful nature, which he had expected to find, he proposed to his uncle to leave, and seek his fortune in the wide world; but his uncle being wealthy, and unwilling to part with his only adopted son, a young man so useful and full of promise, and one on whom he had placed his chief dependence and reliance for support in his old age, offered to make him sole heir to his entire estate, and showed to him the document that would secure to him this great prize. All this was no more to the young man than a blank page in a book. His religious nature had taken the turn of an intense

yearning of his soul, and he craved salvation, and nothing short of this would satisfy him. Go he must, and go he did. After traveling hundreds of miles, he brought up as a weary traveler to the hospitable roof of Elder Matthew Houston, who at that time stood at the door of entrance into the church at Union Village. Here, for the first time, he found that for which he had desired, a true apostolic church, where "no man had aught of the things he possessed he called his own, but they had all things common," after the example of the primitive church. Here he found a church, consisting of both sexes, living lives of "virgin" celibacy." To him this was more satisfactory than silver and gold. After being thoroughly initiated into this order he felt anxious to go out and proclaim it to the world, which impulse is natural to all converts to a new form of religion. On representing his feelings to Elder Matthew Houston, and others of the family, he was advised to wait for a propitious moment, with which counsel he readily consented, believing that his advisers were competent to decide. When the tidings came he was sent to North Union. With James Hodge he was directed to go to Warrensville, and in March, 1822, set out for that place, two hundred and fifty miles distant, as the roads then ran. They had one horse and a heavy Dearborn wagon, and the roads, at that season of the year, were almost impassable, so that they were compelled to walk on foot the greater part of the distance, but through their zeal and perseverance they overcame all obstacles and arrived in safety at their point of destination.

After a six weeks' successful mission the two evangelists, in May, returned to Union Village. "I could tell," says Mr. Pelham in his autobiography, "of many thrilling incidents, accidents and hair-breadth escapes, through which myself and co-laborers passed in this and after visits to North Union and other places; but the account might seem tedious, and must mostly be omitted. Suffice it to say, that I traveled the road over twenty times between Union Village and North Union, making an aggregate of over 5,000 miles, besides going to the State of New York and other places as a missionary. This distance seems trifling in this day of railroads; but in those days

of mud roads and corduroy bridges, when the 'rail' laid the other way, that is, across the road, it took eight days of hard labor for man and beast to travel the road between these two points. Taverns were then few and far between, many of which were mere log huts infested with fleas, mosquitoes and bedbugs, so that sometimes we had to lodge in our wagons, at other times on the hay in the barn. We carried our provisions with us and cooked and ate our meals by the roadside."

Elder Richard W. Pelham was considered by the Shakers to have been an extraordinary man, and intellectually had no superior among them. Under the tuition of Elder Matthew Houston he mastered the Greek and Hebrew languages and translated the Bible into English, which enabled him to cope with any of the theologians of his day. As a critic and author he had but few equals among his own order, and as a public speaker he was among the best, both at North Union and Union Village. His discourses were eminently practical, argumentative and instructive. But his voice was feeble and his manner of delivery unpleasant. As a writer among his brethren he ranked high. They point with pride to his tract on "What Would Become of the World, If All Should Become Shakers," and allege that "it is generally conceded to be one of the ablest productions among believers, on that subject, and is irrefutable and unanswerable."

Richard W. Pelham was not only one of the first founders of North Union, but also of the communities of Groveland, Livingston county, New York (formerly located at Lodus Bay, near Lake Ontario, New York,), and White Water, Hamilton county, Ohio. In person he was of the average height, large hazel eyes, black hair, also beard, and weighed about one hundred and thirty-five pounds. He died at the Second Family, Union Village, Ohio, January 10, 1873.

Ashbel Kitchell.—The success of North Union, during its first period, was largely due to Ashbel Kitchell, who was born August 21, 1786, in Morris county, New Jersey. His panegyrist declares that "he was a noble specimen of humanity and an honor to his profession. One of earth's rarest productions; a gifted man in nature; a man of great muscular strength, and

of great executive ability; a Napoleon of his day, and a giant in intellect. It was said of him, if he had received an early education he would have made an excellent judge in the Court of Common Pleas. But his talents were of great use in the church militant in fighting the battles whose weapons are not carnal but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

In person he was above medium height, large head, self-esteem quite prominent, veneration large, large ears and eyes, deep and broad across the chest and shoulders, corpulent, weighing about two hundred and fifty pounds, and of a dignified and commanding appearance.

Early in the spring of 1826 he was appointed presiding elder at North Union, and under his administration the community was organized and greatly prospered, and his authority extended over a period of five years. This growth was largely due to his practical business methods and indomitable will. Decision being a prominent feature of his mind, he never faltered. His word was law, and when he willed to do a thing it was done without question. His wonderful will-power may be illustrated in the following special instance:

Elder John P. Root was sick in a log cabin and given over to die. The brethren and sisters generally had been to see him and taken their final leave, not expecting him to live from one hour to another. Elder Kitchell had just returned from a visit to Union Village, and learning of his illness, immediately repaired to his bedside, and when he arrived the sick man's mouth and extremities were cold and his jaws set. Looking intently on the outstretched form he said, in a firm voice, 'Pomeroy, live.' 'I will,' replied he. 'There is no gift for you to die,' said Kitchell. Thus uniting his will-power and positiveness with Pomeroy's faith and passive obedience, a barrier against death was formed, which had to yield its victim to a further extension of life. From that hour Pomeroy began to mend and soon recovered.

In his discourse his favorite theme was a Mother in Deity, which he handled with power, and at times was carried beyond himself. Although he reproved sin and disorder with severity,

yet he was tender-hearted, sympathetic and easily touched by the sorrows and griefs of those around him. In all his dealings with mankind he was no flatterer, but open, frank, generous and candid. He died at Union Village, March 27, 1860, in his 74th year.

Matthew Houston.—In the early days of the Shakers, there were but few, if any more prominent, or as well educated as Matthew Houston. He was born in Virginia, December 25, 1764; educated for a Presbyterian clergyman and was one of the leaders in the Kentucky Revival, which commenced in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century and continued for several years in succession. He was a man of high standing in society, of great influence, possessed a classical education, which aided his naturally superior intellectual endowments. He had been a slave-holder, but subsequently manumitted them. Under the spirit of the Revival, together with others, he embraced the principles of Shakerism and became one of its leading founders in the west, both in Ohio and Kentucky. He had the rare gift of entering the hearts of the people and gathering them around him. He was a great and good man. His greatness consisted in his humility, self-denial and shild-like simplicity and obedience to that order with which he had covenanted.

He succeeded Ashbel Kitchell as presiding elder at North Union and continued in that office for two years. In person he was of medium height, light complexion, large head, but well balanced, small, round eyes, wide apart, which sparkled with intelligence and good humor, broad across the chest, long body, short legs, fat and corpulent, which gave him the appearance of an English nobleman, but by no means aristocratic. In manner he was affable and courteous, easy and graceful, naturally of a mirthful turn, but not vain, social and generous, warm hearted and always carried with him the sunshine of pleasantness and made all happy around him. Everybody loved Elder Matthew Houston. He died at Union Village, March 18, 1848, in the 84th year of his age.

David Spinning.—Although not one of the fathers of North Union, yet Elder David Spinning's work is a part of its history. He was born September 17, 1779, and succeeded Elder

Houston as presiding elder at North Union, October 24, 1832, and held the office for eight years, during which time there was a steady growth of the community. He had been a Presbyterian layman and took an active part in the Kentucky Revival.

In June, 1834, a new ministry was formed consisting of Elder David Spinning, R. W. Pelham, Lucy Faith and Vincy McNemar, all thoroughly prepared for the duties involved in their office. When this valuable contingent arrived from Union Village, Elder Spinning was greatly gratified and took courage, because all were examples that could be followed. Such an acquisition would strengthen him in his purposes.

Elder Spinning was a conscientious and devoted man. He was slow in his judgments, preferring to arrive at conclusions after thorough investigation. From principle he practiced self-denial, curtailed all unnecessary expenses, lived on a plain, simple diet, dressed plain and cheap, refused tea, coffee, tobacco and all other superfluities. He condemned excess of every description, and became a strict vegetarian. His view of man was also extreme, holding that all were universally lost in selfishness, and there was no possible way whereby the selfish desires could be so effectually destroyed or overcome as to place it upon the altar of self-denial. The principal reason he assigned for this course, which he rigidly imposed on himself and fearlessly taught to others, was that a portion might be saved for the poor, and, further, that by such a practice he could lay up treasure in heaven. He held to the idea that when he entered the future state the question would not be asked him what he believed, but what he had done to benefit suffering humanity.

In person Elder Spinning was of medium height, dark complexion, black hair, dark hazel eyes, veneration and benevolence large. In manners he was simple, modest, unassuming, courteous and agreeable. As a public speaker he had no equal at North Union. He was natural in his delivery, abounded in figures of speech, in natural similitudes, and in symbolic language. However, his discourses, though logical, yet were so simple that a child could understand him. Such a speaker was calculated to please and instruct his audience. It was during his administration that spirit manifestations first occurred at

North Union. He departed this life at Union Village, December 22, 1841, in the 63d year of his age.

Samuel Russell.—The successor of Elder Spinning was Samuel Russell, who was born in Rodman, Jefferson county, New York, May 14, 1807, being the son of Return Russell. He was admitted in the North Union Society in the fall of 1823, being about 16 years of age. On September 15, 1840, he was appointed presiding elder, and for eighteen years continued in that office. Under his guidance improvements were introduced and the character and growth of the community maintained.

He was a man of rare talents and great executive ability. But his genius was better adapted to that of a trustee than a Gospel minister, because the spiritual part of his nature was subordinated to that of business.

In person Elder Russell was about five feet, eleven inches in height, well proportioned, evenly balanced head, hazel eyes, black hair, of a quick and active mind, easy address, a high sense of order. He withdrew from the society August 19, 1858, when in his 51st year, took with him the Church Covenant and only yielded it after securing a compromise.

John P. Root.—Another of the prominent men was John P. Root, born in Pittsfield, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, June 28, 1799, and admitted into the North Union community March 15, 1825, and thus may be ranked as one of its early founders. He had been a classleader among the Methodists, and of the most zealous kind. When he first emigrated to Ohio he settled on some wild land in Grafton, Lorain county, for which his father had exchanged his farm. He passed through all the hardships of pioneer life almost alone and single-handed.

In July, 1825, he was appointed farm deacon, which place he occupied three years and gave good satisfaction. On the organization of the church in 1828 he was appointed the third legal trustee, which place he filled for five years. In 1833 he received the appointment of first elder in the Middle Family, which place he filled for many years. In 1858 he was appointed successor to Samuel Russell in the ministry, which appointment was ratified by the members. As the ministry was dissolved in 1862, he continued to be presiding elder. Among his brethren

he was known as Elder Pomeroy. He was deeply imbued with a religious baptism while among the Methodists, and this undiminished he carried into his new faith and always held the temporal to be subordinate to the spiritual. The principle that actuated him was the golden rule. He believed in the doctrine of "live and let live," which he daily practiced. He would ask no one to do a thing he would not do himself. In him the poor always found a generous friend, and he never sent away any one empty handed, but relieved all whenever it was in his power. Although a farmer by education he had a turn for mechanics. In the Middle Family, where he was first elder for many years, he showed his aptitude for mechanics by making bureaus, tables, stands, drawers, chests, joiner-work, etc., etc., which could have been seen in every room.

In his preaching his favorite theme was the same that delighted the ear and heart of every preacher, viz., "A Mother as Well as a Father in the Deity." From that he became an uncompromising defender in woman's rights, which he did not fail to impress on his auditors.

In stature Elder Root was about six feet in height, fair complexion, large blue eyes, high forehead, language easy and flowing, veneration large, bald head, tender hearted and an open and frank countenance. He ceased to be presiding elder in July, 1876, and was succeeded by James S. Prescott. Elder Root died in August, 1881, in his 83d year.

James Sullivan Prescott.—It is with more than an ordinary degree of pleasure I turn to the biography of Elder James S. Prescott, for without his zeal in trying to preserve the history of his little colony, it would have sunk into oblivion. The lovers of history owe him a debt of gratitude. He first wrote out his sketches, placed them in the hands of Judge John Barr, of Cleveland, who, over his own signature, caused them to be published in the *Cleveland Daily Herald* for June 13, 21, 28; July 5, 11, 18, and 25, 1870. Afterwards Elder Prescott wrote another MS., in which he corrected the typographic errors and discrepancies which occurred in the published account. He wrote that MS. "expressly for the Western Reserve Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Association, in Northern Ohio," The MS.

is written in a clear, bold hand, in blue and black ink, and covers 121 pages. Great care has been exercised to have it go to the printer and published as written. Unfortunately he failed to separate the history of the community from that of the ruling elder. As he has recorded it, the history is simply a series of biographical successions. Many important features are left out entirely. Although living in sight of the East Family scarcely a record is made. Why this family was overlooked must forever be unaccounted for. But, as has been previously intimated, the writer of this owes nearly all his information concerning North Union to the writings of Elder Prescott. His MS. closes with the year 1870. What I have learned of the community since that period was secured after much diligence. That the recent period is greatly lacking in this record, is admitted, but not the fault of the writer.

Elder James S. Prescott was born in Lancaster, Worcester county, Massachusetts, January 26, 1803. In the usual acceptation of the term his father was not orthodox, but his mother was a pious, devoted woman and belonged to the Congregational Church in Lancaster. She brought up her children under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Thayer, Unitarian. She taught them their Bible and catechism, and that after the strictest manner of the Puritans. On Sunday her children were not allowed to play until after sundown, on which question her word was law. At the age of ten James went to live with his uncle, Brigham Prescott, in West Boylston, about ten miles distant. At the age of sixteen he went to live with Charles Stearns, of Springfield, Massachusets, on the border of the Connecticut River, to learn the mason's trade. After spending one season there, he then went to Hartford, Connecticut, and engaged himself to Danforth Rogers, a practical mason, with whom he continued four years, during which time he assisted in the construction of some of the largest buildings in that city.

The winter of 1820 saw him the subject of a religious revival, and then connected himself with the close communion Baptists, under the pastoral care of Elisha Cushman. The following year he became a teacher in the African Sunday school and so continued for three years. While still a minor, and

serving his apprenticeship, in the winter season he attended the "Literary School and Female Academy," taught by George J. Patten. At the age of twenty-one he entered Westfield Academy, Massachusetts, and there completed his education.

In 1825 he was employed by the executive committee of the Baptist Missionary Convention of New York to teach the missionary school at Oneida, consisting of about forty Indian scholars of both sexes, instructed on the Lancastrian plan.

In July, 1826, he emigrated to Cleveland, Ohio, and there went to work at his trade. While engaged as a journeyman, Elisha Russel came from North Union to hire a mason to lay the foundation of a dwelling house. James Prescott responded, and leaving his trunks in Cleveland, took his tools under his arms and went out afoot and alone. On arriving at the Shaker settlement he found them living in log cabins, similar to Indian wigwams, but kept neatly and cleanly. Immediately he set about the work he was to perform and laid out the foundation and started the corners of the building. The Shakers helped lay the cellar walls, and in about two weeks they were ready for the framework, and in due course the house for the Center Family was ready for occupation. That house still stands and is given in the illustration.

While engaged with the Shakers, and looking with great favor upon them, he received a letter from Frederick Collins, an old classmate, requesting him to come to Unionville, about ten miles from St. Louis, Missouri, as a missionary. On that mission he started to go, but being out of health he stopped in Cleveland to work at his trade and recuperate. While thus engaged he investigated the doctrines of the Shakers and compared the same with the Bible, and found he had no cause to seek further. When he saw the purity of the lives the Shakers led, and the power of God attending their meetings, the heavenly inspiration of their singing, and a flaming testimony against the licentiousness of the world, he was satisfied that he had "found Him of whom Moses and the prophets did write," and to this he would hold until he could find something better. As he viewed the various sects of Christendom he could find no people

on the earth that came so near the Pentecostal Church, in their principles and practices, as the Shakers. Under this conviction he did not wait long before he made up his mind to prove the work for himself. On making his determination known he was admitted into the society in the fall of 1826. In 1827 he was appointed second elder in the Cabin Family. The brethren, to show their approval and to ratify the appointment, took him on their shoulders and carried him around the meeting-room, exclaiming, "the lot has fallen upon Jonah."

After continuing in the elder's lot for four years he was released in order to take charge of the district school. For a period of about fifty years, when not engaged in teaching school, he was in the elder's lot in the different families, sometimes first and sometimes second, and for about forty years was one of the legal trustees. He was thus not only one of the early advocates, but continued long as one of the pillars of the community.

The only notice, "The Manifesto," June, 1888, gave of this faithful laborer was as follows: "James S. Prescott died at North Union, Ohio, April 3, 1888, age 85 years, 2 months and 8 days. Brother James has been in the community sixty-two years. He was a faithful laborer in the Gospel field. S. S. M."

In the little graveyard at North Union the body of James S. Prescott rests in an unmarked and an unknown grave. There are none to weep over him or plant a flower to lessen the monotony of his surroundings. His friends either lie buried around him or else have taken their departure. He saw the colony in its infancy; he was with it in its strength and decline. Had he lived another year he would have seen its dissolution. He was spared that sorrow, yet he must have realized that the inevitable hour was near at hand. Rest, sweet saint, thy labors are over. The society which thou didst give thy life for its welfare and promotion, like thee, has passed away. But thy life was not a failure, and the course thou didst pursue will be an admonition to generations that must follow.

Return Russell.—One of the important members of the society was Return Russell, born in Windsor, Hartford county, Connecticut, March 1, 1778. He emigrated to Ohio in 1822.

He had a wife and eleven children, six sons and five daughters, viz., Luther, Edward, Samuel, Sanford, Robert, Henry, Huldah, Abigail, Mary Ann, Roxana and Lydia, all of whom, save Luther, were gathered into the Shaker fold, and out of that numerous family only one remained in the society in 1870, and that was Abigail, otherwise called Rachel, was, in above named year, the elder sister in the Middle Family.

EAST VIEW OF GIRLS' RESIDENCE.

Return had been a Baptist and a highly esteemed member of that church. He did not relinquish his sentiments without a thorough investigation, and when convinced he yielded to the testimony and joined the Shakers in 1823. He purchased a lot in Warrensville, which included the land about the saw-mill, for which he paid one thousand dollars. This land, and that purchased by the trustees of Union Village, on which the center house still stands, were adjoining the lands of Ralph and Elijah Russell.

When the church was organized in 1828 Return was appointed first legal trustee, which place he held until 1834. He was a laborious man, and in constructing the dam across the stream at the grist-mill, his zeal to do good work carried him beyond his physical powers of endurance, although of a strong constitution. He was above medium height, broad across the chest, square shouldered, large, open countenance, high forehead, dark complexion, and black hair. He was of a social and genial disposition, intelligent and agreeable in conversation, possessing faculties by nature superior to the ordinary class of men, and eminently calculated for the position he filled. He departed this life at the Middle Family on October 5, 1834, in the 56th year of his age.

Elisha Russell.—On November 14, 1779, Elisha Russell was born in Windsor, Connecticut. He emigrated to Ohio in 1812, and was one of the first pioneers to settle in Warrensville. He had a wife and five daughters,—Mary, Candace, Abigail, Hannah and Adeline. He was a man of great activity and usefulness. In point of muscular strength he had but few equals. Unfortunately, when a young man, he cut his knee-joint, which made a stiff leg for the rest of his life. For many years he was one of the legal trustees. Although a farmer by occupation, he was useful in repairing wagons, carts, buggies, sleighs, etc. He was industrious, quick and active. He died October 15, 1862, in his 83d year.

Riley Honey.—One of the first, if not the first, child born in the Western Reserve, and one of the first pioneers of Warrensville, was Riley Honey. He was born in Burton, Geauga county, Ohio, December 31, 1798. He could wield an axe among heavy forest timber in cleaning off land, erecting log cabins; he could boil down sugar water, catch raccoons, find wild honey, and further, was the equal of any of his neighbors. His early training gave him an advantage over those who had not endured the hardships of pioneer life. He was prepared in an eminent degree to become one of the first founders of a community whose principles are based upon sacrifices and daily cross-bearing.

He entered the society in 1822, while it was still in embryo. He came alone and single-handed, without any family, in the prime of his activity, and devoted a long and useful life in building up the cause of truth and righteousness. He was appointed first legal trustee September 15, 1840, which place he still occupied in 1874, during which time he gave general satisfaction, and at two different periods was, at short intervals, appointed second in the ministry. He was universally known as an honest man.

In 1835 he was taken sick and given up to die. He was emaciated and reduced to a skeleton. The lingering look, the parting word, the silent tear, the last farewell, were reluctantly given. His grave clothes were prepared and the funeral hymn composed. He requested to see the elders of the church. David Spinning, then presiding elder, immediately responded, and arriving at the bedside was moved with compassion and tender sympathy. Elder David prayed in spirit, in low humility, in deep supplication and silent yearning. That prayer was heard and answered, not by any outward manifestation, but by a deep, silent, invisible power, and Riley Honey began to recover from that very hour, and soon after was able to take his place in the ranks of the faithful, and resume his labors in all his daily avocations. In his old age he began to take a deep interest in bee culture. He died August 7, 1884, aged 85 years, 5 months and 6 days.

Elijah Russell.—Windsor, Connecticut, was also the natal place of Elijah Russell, and was there born July 13, 1773. In 1813 he emigrated from Rodman, Jefferson county, New York, and settled in Warrensville, Ohio, and thus became one of the western pioneers. He purchased a farm heavily timbered, and at once set apart to clear it for cultivation. In 1822 he embraced the testimony of the Shakers, and the first meeting of that order took place in his cabin. His family consisted of a wife, six daughters and one son, the children named Melinda, Eunice, Esther, Adeline, Caroline, Emeline and Marcus, all of whom were gathered into the Shaker fold. His wife was a member of the Baptist Church, an excellent woman and an ornament to society.

Elijah was old-fashioned and eccentric, but made himself useful in the cultivation of fruit trees, in which he was successful. After the church was organized he devoted his time exclusively for many years in planting nurseries, setting out orchards, pruning and grafting in the proper season, sparing no pains to procure the best varieties of apples, peaches, pears, plums, cherries, etc. When a tree did not bear fruit to suit him, or was of an inferior quality, he would cut off the limbs near the body with a fine saw, smooth the top with a sharp knife, put in one or two scions of some choice variety, and within a few years that tree was seen bearing different kinds of fruit of a superior quality, size, color and flavor. All of the old orchards, of which there were two quite extensive ones, at all the three families, owed their origin and subsequent cultivation chiefly to the labors of Elijah Russell. In times of drouth he was often seen carrying water from a distance to moisten the roots of the young trees. His time for pruning was in the spring, after the sap began to flow, and from that time on until the fruit became too large to admit of any further encroachments. Although he pruned sparingly and cautiously, yet he believed in pruning to some extent. By close observation he learned that the best way to set out an orchard was to place the trees on top the soil, and then bank up around them, instead of setting them down on the clay, as he had formerly done. In winter he was frequently seen stamping the snow down around the trees to prevent the mice from gnawing the roots, and in summer he would remove the turf from around the trees.

Elijah Russell was a practical man, and contributed more towards furnishing the community with good, wholesome fruit, both for the table and the market, than any other man who belonged to the society. He departed this life February 26, 1857, in the 84th year of his age.

Chester Risley.—The next after Ralph Russell who started in the work of the faith at North Union was Chester Risley, who was born in East Hartford, Connecticut, December 6, 1794. He embraced the faith March 30, 1822, and set out to obey it. He had a wife and a daughter Lucina, both of whom subse-

quently became adherents of the same faith. When the Shakers found Chester he owned a small farm adjoining that of Elisha Russell on the east, and lived in a log cabin.

Chester Risley was a practical man,—a man of deeds and not of words. He had no faith in being saved by grace through faith, without having corresponding good works. Hence he was often heard to say, "We must work out our salvation. We cannot talk it out, nor sing it out. An apostle hath said, 'Faith without works is dead: it being alone.'" He believed in being saved by the blood of Christ, *i. e.,* by living his life—"the blood is the life thereof."

After the church was organized Chester Risley was called to be an elder, which place he occupied for many years in the different families, and was highly esteemed for his works, for his devotedness to the cause, and for his pious and godly example. By occupation he was a farmer and shoemaker. He departed this life May 6, 1855, in the 61st year of his age.

William Andrews.—In the formation of the society the founders filled some important station. Such was the case also with William Andrews, who was born January 16, 1776, in Little Hoosett, or Stephentown, Renssellaer county, New York.

In July, 1825, he was admitted into the community. He had a wife and four children,—Phoebe, Harriet, Louisa and Watson—who were subsequently gathered into the society. He had been brought up at Mount Lebanon, New York, and consequently was indoctrinated into the principles of the community. As he had that faith implanted in him when young he never got rid of it, and thereby found no true peace and comfort until he was brought under its obedience. So he put away a wife, and she a husband that they might live according to the principles they accepted.

By occupation William Andrews was a tanner and currier, and for many years was useful in this line. He departed this life March 22, 1850, in his 75th year. In 1870 the entire family was dead, with the exception of Watson, who was still living at the time the society was dissolved.

Oliver Wheeler.—Although not a member at the beginning, yet Oliver Wheeler might be classed as one of the founders of

North Union Society. He was born in Preston, Connecticut, August 14, 1790. He had been an exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Deeply imbued with the religious element, and not finding Methodism that which he sought, he became a member of the United Society of Believers, January 22, 1825. His three children, William, Sally and Hester Ann, then living in Aurora, a few miles distant, chose to come with him, but his wife decided to remain where she was. A mutual separation took place.

Oliver was a pious, devoted man. He made himself useful, first as a caretaker of children, then as an elder, and finally as second in the ministry. He died from the effects of a surgical operation for hernia, September 12, 1848, in his 59th year.

Rodney Russell.—The youngest son of Jacob Russell was Rodney, who was born in Windsor, Connecticut, May 15, 1796. In 1870 he was the only surviving male member of the Russell family at North Union. He was a single man, and owned a farm a little distance south from the settlement, which he exchanged for land lying north and adjoining land owned by the community.

He entered the society with his four brothers and consecrated his property, his time and his talents and all he possessed to build up and support his religious faith. To that cause he devoted a long and useful life and blessed many an orphan and poor widow, who had been brought into the community and permitted to partake of the fruits of his labor. By occupation he was a farmer and shoemaker. He died at North Union, September 3, 1880, aged 84 years, 3 months and 7 days.

Daniel N. Baird.—No Shaker was better known in Cleveland than Uncle Daniel, as Daniel W. Baird was usually called. He was born in Grandville, Jefferson county, New York, November, 7, 1801, and was admitted into the society in October, 1823. By occupation he was a wheelmaker, was of an inventive turn of mind, and took out several patents, among which were a brace and bit; but none yielded him much profit. As soon as the society began to use machinery he found some soft metal, supposed to be composed of tin, pewter or lead. He found that

this composition was excellent for gudgeons of the wheel to his turning lathe to run in without heating by friction, and subsequently became quite extensively used at North Union.

Some years afterwards a man by the name of Babbitt invented a box for this same kind of metal to run in, and then commenced a suit against Ward & Co., of Detroit, for infringement of his patent. The defense summoned Daniel as a witness, who appeared in court with his box and soft metal, and testified that he had invented that box and composition and used it for years prior to Mr. Babbitt's patent. He turned the scale for the defendants, who, feeling under great obligations to him, offered to reward him handsomely, but he would take only his expenses in attending court. However, he did accept a free pass which they gave him over all the railroads and steamboats in their jurisdiction and as far as their influence over other companies and conveyances extended. This privilege he was not slow to improve; he visited some of the principal cities both east and west and was in Washington a short time before his death.

Daniel never enjoyed good health, and was dyspeptic from the day he entered the society to the time of his death. He was a very useful man, and for several years was acting trustee for the society. In buying and in selling and peddling their home manufactures, in most things he exercised good judgment and gave general satisfaction. A short time before his death he started to go to Cleveland on foot, and got as far as the Mill Family, when taking sick, in a day or two he expired. He died June 2, 1867, being in his 66th year.

Sisters.—Among the first founders of North Union were some pious, devoted, active and intelligent sisters, whose services were eminently successful in the cause espoused. These sisters, should have found a biographer and sketches of their lives, would have been just as useful and entertaining as those of the brethren. The Prescott MS. states that the data was not at hand for such a purpose. Such data as exists is here given. Those who were most prominent in the inception and who lived at Union Village were:

Anna Boyd, Betsey Dunlavy, Charlotte Morrell, Susannah Stout, Melinda Watts, Lucy Faith, Lois Spinning, Thankful Stewart.

Anna Boyd, Thankful Stewart and Lucy Faith were remarkably gifted in song. They seemed to "sing with the spirit and the understanding." There was an inspiration about their singing that would inspire a whole assembly. The rich melody of their voices, at a little distance, could hardly be distinguished from a well-tuned instrument. Those who heard them were extravagant in their praise.

There were other noble souls who subsequently were called into the work, who may be justly ranked among the founders of the community, but have long since passed away. They were:

Lydia Russell, Betsey Russell, Jerusha Russell, Eunice Russell, Esther Russell, Caroline Russell, Roxana Russell, Harriet Andrews, Melinda Torrey, Polly Torrey, Cynthia Bevin, Clarissa Risley, Susannah Sawyer, Permelia Torrey, Polly Sawyer, Huldah Russell.

Among those living in the society in 1870, may be named:

Lucy Cooper, aged 97; Arabella Shepard, Phila Copley, Mariah Pilot, Hannah Addison, Laura Russell, Ruth Butson, Melinda Russell, Rhoda Watson, Jane Bearse, Harriet Shepard, Margaret Sawyer, Harriet Snooks, Elizabeth Deree, Laura Houghton, Sylva Tyler, Elmina Phillips, Henrietta Wallace, Harriet Snyder.

Those occupying places of care and trust were:

Rachel Russell, Abigail Russell, Candace Russell, Prudence Sawyer, Lezette Walker, Clymena Miner, Temperance Devan, Lydia Ann Cramer, Mary Pilot, Charlotte Pilot.

Hannah Addison was the mother of H. M. Addison, one of Cleveland's most devoted and influential philanthropists, and universally called Father Addison.

Brethren.—Among the brethren whose biographies are not given and who have long since passed away, are the following:

Jeremiah Ingalls, Hugh McQuead, Christian Stade, William Johnson, Ambrose Bragg, Benjamin Sawyer, Hiram Young, William Devan.

Those living in 1870 and holding positions of care and trust were:

Freeman Phillips, Samuel S. Miner, Charles Sweet, Joseph Montgomery, Charles Taylor, George Hunt, Henry Summerfield, Sewell G. Thayer, Jacob Walker, Jacob Kimbal, Curtis Cramer, Cornelius Bush, Christian Lyntz, Thomas Giles.

At the time of the dissolution of the society the elders at

SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF WASHHOUSE OF MIDDLE FAMILY.

the Middle Family were Samuel S. Miner and Clymena Miner, and those at the Mill Family were Watson W. Andrews and Temperance Devan.

The members of the community had their choice whether they should be transferred to Watervleit, near Dayton, Ohio, or to Union Village, near Lebanon, Ohio. Those transferred to Watervleit were:

John Pilot, Christian Lyntz, Charles Taylor, Cornelius Bush, Daniel Dunning, Maria Pilot, Mary Shepard, Clymena

Miner, Harriet Snyder, Margaret Sawyer, John Morton, Samuel Miner, George Hunt, William Dunn, Ferdinand Budinger, Robert Budinger, Lizzie Budinger, Lulu Budinger, Harriet Snooks.

Those who cast their lot with the society at Union Village were:

William Sheppe, James McQuigan, Watson Andrews, Liszette Ryder, Thomas Mylrea, William Lincoln, Temperance Devan, Harriet Shepard.

A short time prior to the dissolution of the society Melinda and Rachel Russell were removed to Watervleit.

XI. NECROLOGY.

It has been demonstrated that the laws of health as practiced by the Shakers is conducive to longevity. This appears to be true also of that branch at North Union. However, to solve this problem it would be necessary to know something of the state of health of the parties at the time of admission and how long they remained in the society. Some were consumptives at the time of their admission, and as death was inevitable within a few years, this would cut down the general average of life. Then again, it is unquestionable that some belonged to long-lived families, and a reasonable degree of sanitation would promote this tendency.

Fortunately the list of all the deaths at North Union has been carefully recorded and kept, in a book containing also the songs for the dead. This book I found in the possession of Eldress Slymena Miner, now of the community at Watervleit, Ohio. I herewith insert the list, in the order therein contained. The value of this record is so patent that it need not be pointed out.

DATES OF DEATHS AT NORTH UNION.

1. Benjamin Jenks, October 4, 1827; aged about 40 years.
2. Jacob Blake, October 19, 1827; aged 28 years.
3. Nancy Cooper, March 11, 1828; aged 21 years.
4. Olive York, June 5, 1829; aged 64 years.
5. Adaline Russell, December 6, 1829; aged 18 years.

6. Lewis Bevin, April 20, 1830; aged 31 years.
7. Louisa Andrews, August 13, 1830; aged 16 years.
8. Clarissa Risley, June 13, 1833; aged 38 years.
9. Samuel Copley, April 6, 1834; aged 76 years.
10. Nathan Torrey, July 8, 1834; aged 7 years.
11. Return Russell, October 5, 1834; aged 55 years.
12. Julia Bevins, July 27, 1836; aged 22 years.
13. Eunice Russell, July 29, 1836; aged 29 years.
14. Polly Bennett, March 27, 1837; aged 34 years.
15. Esther Russell, March 30, 1837; aged 28 years.
16. Rollin Porter, September 28, 1837; aged 1 year.
17. Martha Cahoon, April 25, 1838; aged 14 years.
18. Betsey Russell, June 27, 1839; aged 64 years.
19. Jesse Wheeler, July 27, 1839; aged 1 year.
20. Joseph Stewart, September 2, 1839; aged 57 years.
21. Robert Swan, June 22, 1840; aged 40 years.
22. Harriet Hammond, February 8, 1842; aged 29 years.
23. Ann Bevins, November 30, 1842; aged 28 years.
24. Emily Jefferson, March 20, 1843, aged 13 years.
25. Caroline Russell, June 22, 1845; aged 28 years.
26. Huldah Russell, June 22, 1845; aged 42 years.
27. Ruth Andrews, October 31, 1845; aged 34 years.
28. Stewart Clydesdale, February 7, 1846; aged 35 years.
29. Talcot Devan, November 18, 1847; aged 77 years.
30. Cynthia Bevins, December 8, 1847; aged 70 years.
31. James Mott, February 3, 1848; aged 27 years.
32. Lydia Ann Wells, May 7, 1848; aged 21 years.
33. Alma Sawyer, July 23, 1848; aged 30 years.
34. Anna Bennett, September 11, 1848; aged 25 years.
35. Oliver Wheeler, September 12, 1848; aged 58 years.
36. Diantha Wells, February 13, 1850; aged 20 years.
37. William Andrews, March 22, 1850; aged 74 years.
38. Hugh McQueed, March 25, 1850; aged 54 years.
39. Henry Ersinger, April 7, 1850; aged 55 years.
40. Roxana Russell, March 25, 1852; aged 30 years.
41. Polly Torrey, April 1, 1852; aged 52 years.
42. Polly Sawyer, October 10, 1852; aged 74 years.
43. Phoeba Andrews, October 31, 1852; aged 74 years.

44. Alexander Cameron, July 26, 1853; aged 75 years.
45. Nehemiah Devan, February 10, 1854; aged 22 years.
46. Jerusha Russell, March 23, 1854; aged 73 years.
47. Sally Wells, June 8, 1854; aged 22 years.
48. Samuel Thomas, July 29, 1854; aged 63 years.
49. Polly Sutton, September 2, 1854; aged 59 years.
50. Chester Risley, May 6, 1855; aged 60 years.
51. Isaac Cooper, June 9, 1855; aged 81 years.
52. Charles Walker, July 13, 1855; aged 22 years.
53. Clarissa Baldwin, September 20, 1855; aged 31 years.
54. William Lewey, January 12, 1856; aged 75 years.
55. Elijah Russell, February 26, 1857; aged 84 years.
56. Sarah Butolph, November 22, 1857; aged 67 years.
57. Jeremiah Ingalls, February 2, 1858; aged 61 years.
58. Moritz Zeschler, April 21, 1858; aged 77 years.
59. Melinda Torrey, May 23, 1858; aged 39 years.
60. Waterman De Lee, August 17, 1858; aged 23 years.
61. Mary Wagget, January 24, 1859; aged 60 years.
62. John Hastings, February 10, 1859; aged 17 years.
63. Electa Phillips, March 16, 1859; aged 53 years.
64. Philene Walker, August 18, 1859, aged 20 years.
65. Almanson De Lee, August 23, 1859; aged 22 years.
66. Hiram Young, March 20, 1860; aged 51 years.
67. Duncan Campbell, February 28, 1860; aged 24 years.
68. William Cramer, February 14, 1861; aged 80 years.
69. Susannah Sawyer, September 9, 1862; aged 48 years.
70. William Johnson, September 20, 1862; aged 75 years.
71. Elisha Russell, October 15, 1862; aged 83 years.
72. Henry Houck, November 13, 1862; aged 64 years.
73. Lydia Russell, January 29, 1863; aged 83 years.
74. Benjamin Sawyer, January 31, 1863; aged 86 years.
75. George Hoffman, April 13, 1863; aged 60 years.
76. Jonathan Lawrence, March 21, 1864; aged 89 years.
77. Permelia Torrey, August 2, 1864; aged 48 years.
78. Rufus Bennett, March 20, 1865; aged 34 years.
79. John Jacobs, March 22, 1865; aged 69 years.
80. Robert Skillicorn, October 16, 1865; aged 82 years.
81. Caroline Wells, January 10, 1866; aged 32 years.

82. Henry Mahler, August 31, 1866; aged 51 years.
83. Rufus Houghton, September 9, 1866; aged 74 years.
84. Louisa Hoffman, March 29, 1867; aged 66 years.
85. David N. Baird, June 2, 1867; aged 66 years.
86. Ambrose Bragg, September 3, 1867; aged 82 years.
87. William Devan, January 26, 1868; aged 72 years.
88. Paul Jacobs, September 22, 1868; aged 55 years.
89. Thomas Adams, October 4, 1868; aged 73 years.
90. Christian States, May 2, 1869; aged 86 years.
91. Rosa Schneeberger, May 9, 1869; aged 15 months.
92. Laura Tyler, August 20, 1869; aged 63 years.
93. Julia Keyn, June 30, 1870; aged 57 years.
94. Lucy Cooper, December 5, 1870; aged 97 years.
95. Phila Bragg, January 12, 1871; aged 85 years.
96. Caroline Bearse, May 1, 1871; aged 72 years.
97. Clarissa Beck, May 4, 1871; aged 2 years.
98. Edward Greene, November 9, 1871; aged 64 years.
99. Antoine Van Offal, June 1, 1872; aged 53 years.
100. Charles Sweet, 1874; aged 86 years.
101. Hannah Addison, May 20, 1875; aged 86 years.
102. Rhoda Watson, May 21, 1875; aged 84 years.
103. Sarah M. Pilot, July 3, 1875; aged 19 years.
104. Rhoda S. Miner, July 9, 1876; aged 81 years.
105. Max Schmidt, September 16, 1876; aged 48.
106. Jacob Walker, February 19, 1877; aged 72 years.
107. Jacob Kimball, May 2, 1878; aged 65 years .
108. Freeman Phillips, June 3, 1878; aged 77 years.
109. Barbara Krantz, August 4, 1878; aged 66 years.
110. Joseph Montgomery, October 5, 1878; aged 68 years.
111. Henry Summerfield, September 29, 1879; aged 70 years.
112. Sewall Thayer, February 27, 1880; aged 78 years.
113. Jane Hunt, April 27, 1880; aged 74 years.
114. George W. Ingalls, May 5, 1880; aged 60 years.
115. Lester G. Shepard, June 15, 1880; aged 83 years.
116. Oliver Dewey, July 30, 1880; aged 58 years.
117. Rodney E. Russell, September 3, 1880; aged 84 years.
118. Thomas Giles, March 17, 1881; aged 83 years.
119. John P. Root, August 5, 1881; aged 82 years.

120. Elizabeth Deree, January 26, 1882; aged 79 years.
121. Candace Russell, April 6, 1882; aged 76 years.
122. Prudence Sawyer Lacy, September 30, 1882; aged 78 years.
123. Gad Smith, November 16, 1882; aged 78 years.
124. Abigail Russell, February 6, 1883; aged 69 years.
125. Laura P. Houghton, February 14, 1883; aged 82 years.
126. Amarilla B. Cojer, April 16, 1883, aged 75 years.
127. Ann H. Wallace, November 22, 1883; aged 50 years.
128. Lambert Kidney, December 16, 1883; aged 65 years.
129. John Simmons, March 30, 1884; aged 64 years.
130. Lydia A. Cramer, July 26, 1884; aged 55 years.
131. Riley Honey, August 7, 1884; aged 86 years.
132. Arabella Shepard, October 10, 1884; aged 86 years.
133. Robert Mathers, June 7, 1885; aged 65 years.
134. Curtice Cramer, July 13, 1886; aged 74 years.
135. James S. Prescott, April 3, 1888; aged 85 years.
136. Susan A. Miner, August 5, 1888; aged 64 years.
137. Laura C. Russell, August 7, 1888; aged 87 years.
138. Lisette Walker, September 19, 1888; aged 56 years.

A list of those who have died since their removal to Watervleit, Ohio:

1. Melinda Russell, October 22, 1889; aged 83 years.
2. Charles Taylor, September 7, 1891; aged 86 years.
3. Mary A. Shepard, December 22, 1891; aged 58 years.
4. Samuel S. Miner, August 6, 1892; aged 70 years.
5. John Norton, October 13, 1892; aged 78 years.
6. Christian Lentz, March 19, 1893; aged 85 years.
7. Rachel Russell, January 14, 1894; aged 84 years.
8. William Dunn, September 3, 1897; aged 73 years.
9. John Pilot, August 4, 1898; aged 84 years.
10. Daniel Dunning, August 30, 1898; aged 80 years.
11. Maria Pilot, April 6, 1899, aged 81 years.

A list of those who have died since their removel to Union Village, Ohio:

1. William Shippee, January 30, 1890; aged 61 years.
2. Harriet Shepard, August 24, 1893; aged 71 years.

This would give the average age at 60 years; but as twelve

are still living at an advanced age the general average is materially increased.

XII. CONCLUSION.

In parting with the history of the United Believers of North Union, I desire to repeat what has been intimated in this record, that of the people herein portrayed I had no personal acquaintance, and hence was bound in justice to allow their spokesman, James S. Prescott, to state the facts as he saw them. I have restrained myself from offering comment, leaving the reader to do that for himself. In these concluding remarks I will closely follow the opinions of them as given by Judge John Barr, as published in the *Cleveland Herald* of July 25, 1870.

By the people of Cleveland the Shakers, who came in contact with them, were regarded to be a strictly moral class, very industrious, male and female, in the various duties assigned to each that was able to labor, while the children were sent to school in order to acquire a reasonable education. They were noted for promptness and integrity in their dealings and faithful performance of contracts. They studied the laws of health in the construction of their dwellings, in the selection and preparation of food, and noted for neatness and cleanliness. They eschewed the use of all intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and used only when prescribed by a physician; and any violation of this rule by any member was a matter of strict discipline. The use of profane, obscene, vulgar or harsh language to each other or to the world was not tolerated. Sunday was regarded as a holy day and observed as a day of rest from all secular pursuits, save those of necessity and mercy, just as strictly as did the Puritans, and devoted the day to religious worship in praise and thanksgiving exclusively. They were kind and liberal to the sick and unfortunate, and the stranger who was overtaken by disease or casualty in their midst, in them found the good Samaritan. To the members of their respective families no pains were spared or expense avoided, in sickness, or infirmity of any kind; and the aged and infirm were cared for to the full extent of parental affection. They were averse to strife or litigation, and avoided going to law if possible. During their existence

they appeared in court but once as plaintiffs, and were successful. They carefully obeyed the laws of the land, punctually paid their taxes, and fulfilled all other requirements of them, patiently and cheerfully. None of their members were ever accused of an offence. They were opposed to anything like pomp or ostentation, or useless parade or ceremony. They regarded the practice of wearing mourning of any kind as a relic of paganism, and religiously discarded it. They laid out their burial grounds in a proper manner, ornamenting the same with beautiful trees and planted shrubs and flowers around and over the graves of their departed friends.

On what has been written a liberal interpretation must be given. Recently speaking to a lady who was a member of the North Union Society for a period of thirty-four years, and still had a very warm place in her heart for them, I asked her if there were not jealousy among them, and if the various offices were not desired by those who had not attained to them. She replied: "The Shakers must be judged just the same as others, for human nature is the same everywhere."

Being further pressed she said that those refusing to sign the Church Covenant were subjected to a very strong and irritating pressure. This class was brought up in the society and on the very day any one became of legal age the Covenant was brought and the party urged to sign it.

XIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

When the North Union Society was dissolved it was a favorable moment for the Western Reserve Historical Society to have secured a complete set of their books, but no advantage whatever was taken of that occasion. Still the Historical Society, from time to time, has secured some books written by the Shakers. The following is a complete bibliography of those now in possession of the society:

1. The Kentucky Revival, or a short history of the late extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit of God in the western states of America, agreeably to Scripture promises and prophecies concerning the latter day; with a brief account of the entrance and progress of what we would call Shakerism among the sub-

jects of the late revival in Ohio and Kentucky. Presented to the true Zion-traveler as a memorial of the wilderness journey. By Richard McNemar, Cincinnati, 1808; 119 pp.; contains two other tracts of 23 pp. Donated by Judge C. C. Baldwin.

2. Transactions of the Ohio Mob, called in the public papers, "An expedition against the Shakers." By Benjamin Seth Young, Miami country, State of Ohio, August 31, 1810.

3. The Manifesto, or a declaration of the doctrines and practice of the Church of Christ. By John Dunlavy, Pleasant Hill, Ky., 1818; 520 pp. This book was presented to Ralph Russell by R. W. Pelham, June 10, 1822. The blank leaves are covered with lead pencil writing. It was donated to the Historical Society by Mrs. M. D. Oviatt.

4. Another edition of the same of 486 pp., published in New York in 1847, presented to the Historical Society by James S. Prescott.

5. The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearance; containing a general statement of all things pertaining to the faith and practice of the Church of God in this latter day. Published by order of the ministry, in union with the church. Third edition, corrected and improved, Union Village, Ohio, 1823; 576 pp. Presented to the Historical Society by J. D. Faxon.

6. The same; fourth edition; published by the United Society called Shakers, Albany, 1856; 631 pp. Presented to the Historical Society by James S. Prescott.

7. A Summary View of the Millenial Church, or United Society of Believers, commonly called Shakers; comprising the rise, progress and practical order of the society, together with the general principles of their faith and testimony. Second edition, revised and improved; published by the society with the approbation of the ministry, Albany, 1848; 384 pp.

8. Shaker Sermons; Scripto-Rational; containing the substance of Shaker theology, together with replies and criticism logically and clearly set forth. By H. L. Eads, Bishop of South Union, Ky.; Shakers, N. Y., 1879; 222 pp. Presented to Historical Society by Hon. Harvey Rice.

9. The Shaker; published monthly; Shakers, N. Y., 1871. In January, 1873, the title was changed to "Shaker and Shakess,"

and published at Mt. Lebanon, N. Y. In January, 1876, office changed to Shakers, N. Y. The set 1871-1876 was purchased in March, 1900; bound in two volumes. In 1877 it was the property of James S. Prescott.

10. The Shaker Manifesto; published monthy; Shakers, N. Y., February, 1879; 1882 complete; published at Shaker Village, N. H. The Manifesto, 1884, complete, Shaker Village, N. H. Same for August, October, December, 1887, Canterbury, N. H. The same at same place, June, 1888. The same at same place, June, August, 1889.

11. As has been noticed, the articles entitled, "The Shakers," by John Barr, written by James S. Prescott, besides being preserved in the files of the *Cleveland Herald,* are also contained in three different scrap-books, one of which is wholly devoted to them.

12. The MS. history of North Union, written by James S. Prescott, is written in a half-leather bound blank book, and contains 121 pp. Although written in 1870, on what is intended for the title page is the date 1880, in Mr. Prescott's handwriting, which would indicate that no material change had taken place at North Union between the two dates.

Cleveland, O., April 14, 1900.

ANCIENT CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM SAMUEL LINTON*, WAYNESVILLE, O., TO ABEL SATERTHWAITE, PHILADELPHIA.

* Samuel Linton was the fifth child of Benjamin and Jane (Cowgal) Linton and was born in Bucks county, Pa., December 17th, 1741. He was reared a farmer, yet, learned the trade of a weaver. He married, May 10, 1775, Elizabeth Harvey, who was born March 8th, 1748. They had six children, Samuel, Nathan, David, Jane, Elizabeth and James, who in turn, with the exception of James, raised large families. During the days of William Penn two brothers, John and William Linton, came to this country from Scotland and settled on the banks of the Delaware in Bucks county, Pa. From these two brothers the many Linton families now scattered through the country claim to have descended.

Nathan Linton, the second son of Samuel Linton, visited Ohio in the spring of 1801, after having taken a short course in surveying at the famous Quaker school at Bordertown, New Jersey. His trip was made with a view to looking over the land granted General Gates for his services during the revolutionary war. He was so pleased with the country that he persuaded his father to emigrate, with his whole family, to this state the following year. Samuel Linton, at that time, was a widower with five living children. He arrived in Waynesville, Warren county, Ohio, May 31st, 1802. Nathan Linton became the agent for the surveying and selling of the General Gates lands, and upon the organization of Clinton county was appointed county surveyor, which office he held till near the time of his death which occurred in 1858. Samuel Linton made his home with his son Nathan Linton in Clinton county, the balance of his life. He died in 1835. Elizabeth Linton Butterworth, was Nathan Linton's oldest daughter.

WAYNESVILLE, OHIO, the 5th of ye 5th Month, 1804.

Friends Saterthwaites —I am about to visit you with another letter, and inform you it is fine growing weather here at this date after a cold, snowy winter; the northeast wind, about the 20th of the first month, made its way around the North

Bluff of the mountain, and found us and blowed us up a big snow, above eighteen inches deep, a thing unprecedented in this country—and, also, that we are in good health, and have not as yet become French citizens. The hand bill announcing the cession of Louisiana, printed the 1st of last July at Philadelphia, was reprinted at Cincinnati, and in circulation at Waynesville the 20th of the same month; and now the United States is in the peaceable possession of that vast country (as our President phrases it), so extensive, and so fertile; and there don't at present appear anything to interrupt the peace and happiness of the settlements in this part of the world.

There have sundry changes taken place since I have been in this land besides our taking our rank among the sister states. Our meeting, some months ago, was organized into a Monthly Meeting, with full powers to practice the discipline of the Church. William Saterthwaite, a valuable friend, and Samuel Cope, another; the one from Redstone in Pennsylvania, the other from Concord Monthly Meeting, in this state, by the appointment of the Quarterly Meeting, were present at the opening of our second meeting; and Ann Taylor, she who lately visited your parts, and Christian Hall, women Friends, were also present; all of whom I had the happiness to entertain part of the time they were in this neighborhood. We had a sitting in my family, and Ann gave good council to my young generation.

As I live in a thick settlement of Friends, they soon found out I understood how to use the pen pretty well, and they not knowing that John Brown to please Moses Comfort gave me a "measurable certificate," they have made much use of my pen in the management of meeting business.

Another change is, we now have good land enough of our own. I believe I did not answer the question in my last letter respecting the titles of lands in this state; I will now do it. There seems to be three descriptions; first, the greatest part of the lands are purchased at our Land Offices for that purpose, at two dollars per acre, or otherwise, they are put up at public sale at two dollars per acre; and, such as are not bid higher than two dollars during the three weeks of the vendue, are pur-

chased at the Land Office for two dollars per acre. According to the law lately modeled, of the last session of Congress, the purchaser may pay at four different annual payments, and if he will make payment punctual at the stated time, he will be excused from paying interest; when payment is complete, he is, by law, entitled to a patent, and his title is indisputable.. Secondly, the land between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers, commonly called the military lands, is land that was reserved to reward the soldiers of the Revolutionary War, and is, much of it, very fertile or rich land. There is an office on purpose for the management of said land, called the War Office; said land is obtained by warrants granted to such as are entitled to them by law. The following fact will illustrate the matter: There were twelve thousand five hundred acres allotted to General Gates; said Gates sold his right to Dr. James Murray; said Murray, according to law, obtained a patent to said land, executed by George Washington, President, with the National Seal affixed to it, the titles to said lands are good. The aforesaid James Murray, the last fall, sent his son Daniel, with full power of attorney, to sell part of said land, and I have bought five hundred acres of him at seven quarter dollars per acre, and paid him the money, and he executed to me a Warrantee Deed. There is on my tract good springs of water, and above one hundred acres of that sort of land that but little timber grows upon it, and what little there is, is chiefly walnut and ash; the ground is much overran with pea-vine, and spice-wood (sometimes called babey-wood). Such lands are too strong for wheat in their first culture, but excellent for corn, hemp, potatoes, pumpkins, tobacco, etc. Said Murray has sold various other people land; it is several miles from this town, on a branch of the Little Miami, called Todd's Fork. As there is likely to be a large settlement of Friends there, Dr. Murray has generously made us a present of fifteen acres of land for meeting and school use, for the Society of Friends, and made a Deed to trustees, of which number Nathan Linton is one, and has got the Deed recorded, and has it in keeping. Said Murray, late in the fall, returned to his father's in Maryland, and James Murray has sent Nathan a power of attorney, duly recorded,

to survey and sell more of his lands. The aforesaid Daniel Murray is a young officer belonging to the Navy Department, and he has lately sent us word he is ordered on board to sail to the Mediterranean, to help revenge the wrong done to the ship Philadelphia by the Tripolatans.

Third, John Cleves Symes (commonly called Judge Symes), a number of years ago, perhaps near fifteen, contracted with the powers of Government for one million of acres lying between the two Miami rivers at two-thirds of a dollar per acre; so, Symes obtained a patent for about one third of the million acres before General St. Clair's defeat by the Indians; but St. Clair's army being destroyed, and the Indians very hostile, things carried a very gloomy appearance in this country. At that time Symes gave up power of his patented lands into the hands of Congress (the titles of his patented lands are good), but a new army being raised and General Wayne at their head, and gave the Indians battle, and totally defeated them, held a treaty with them, called the Treaty of Greenville, and purchased some hundreds of miles of their lands, as the property of the United States; and Jay's Treaty coming forward, the English garrison (the root of evil), retired to the other side of the Lakes, matters here assumed a favorable aspect. Symes resumes his right to the unpatented lands; as the lands would sell for two or three times as much as they would before these late changes took place, and he actually sold quantities of the unpatented lands before attention was paid to the defect in his title, and those that purchased those unpatented lands of Symes have to purchase it over again at the Land Office at Cincinnati, and get their money back from Symes as they can. We are not much disturbed with deficient titles this side of the Ohio, except the conduct of Symes; on the other side of the Ohio, in the State of Kentucky, things have not been so regularly managed; their titles to lands is like their waters, uncertain. But by looking over the laws of the late session, I find that Congress has been very indulgent to those that are in the hobble with Symes—they are allowed until the beginning of 1806 before any payment will be demanded, and after 1806, they are allowed six years to pay the remainder, in six annual

payments; if they are industrious and managing, they may make the money off their lands in that time.

There will be, henceforward, for those who can raise a little money, great opportunities to buy good plantations. There is at this time much land to be sold in the military tract by those that monopolized by buying Soldiers' Rights; and the reserved sections between the Miami rivers will be sold next September in quarter sections, and there is some excellent good lands among them; and when matters can be got in readiness, that vast tract called the Indiana; that temperate and surpassingly fertile country, almost surrounded by the boatable waters of the Wabash, the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Illinois rivers, will be sold; such as is not sold at the different vendues, may be bought at the Land Offices for two dollars per acre, and the title as good as any government can make titles.

The emigration into this country is so prodigious that, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, there is scarce enough raised to supply their immediate wants at this time (without our Exporting Company sending it away), which makes produce high at the present: wheat, two-thirds of a dollar; corn, half a dollar; bacon, 8 cents per pound, etc.

Our crops of wheat, oats and flax last year (1803), were generally much damaged by being lodged by a shower of rain a little time before harvest; crops of corn were generally good; we were allowed to plant about eight or nine acres that lay handy to us, for new setting and extending the fence and putting the ground in better order; we have about four hundred bushels of corn—plenty for our own use, and some to spare to hungry and starved newcomers.

We have been informed various ways, both verbally and in print, that on your side of the Mountains the drouth prevailed in many places last year, and occasioned very scanty crops of grain and grass; the Virginians say in their country many of their springs of water were dried up, and the late winter many creatures died for want of provender. Newspaper says, at Fredericktown, Maryland, there were forty days and no rain, and the herbage withered; and in the Genessee country, ninety days and no rain. What disturbs M. Comfort's peace now,

that he wants to go to the Genessee; don't he like his new neighbors as well as his old ones? Perhaps he won't bring as favorable an account of that country as C. Brown did. Perhaps he will like his plantation five hundred pounds better, like he did when he came from Maryland. Land begins to be dull sale in the old settlements in many places, I hear.

I commisserate you on account of the loss of your preacher, John Comfort, and the damage the hailstorm did you, after you had hurried him under ground. Has Charles Brown got his windows repaired yet? If you had lived in as humble houses as we do, you would not have lost so much window glass. The loss of Oliver Hough is a serious loss to the Falls Monthly Meeting; we have three preachers belonging to our Monthly Meeting, and likely to have the fourth before many years. Our meeting house is too little for our greatly increasing numbers, and we are about to build a new meeting house, thirty foot square, and that, it appears to me, will be too small before many years. I think I foresee four Monthly Meetings hereaway, before a great while; the Miami Monthly Meeting, one at Stillwater over the Big Miami, one at Todd's Fork, and one at Lee's Creek. It is not unlikely that times to come will see as prodigal edifices at the above places as those that constitute Buck's Quarter.

I live a public sort of life at present. I have many visitors, both foreign and domestic; among others, Benjamin White, and Benjamin Gillingham, from Buck's Quarter. Tell all whom it may concern, and Benjamin Palmer in particular, I had the honor lately to entertain his son Richard. The matter stands thus; The Little Turtle and other Indians about Fort Wayne (above a hundred miles to the north of us), sent a message to Baltimore Yearly Meeting, requesting their assistance to instruct them in the arts of civil life and how to use the husbandry and other tools they had sent them; upon which the Committee for Indian Affairs appointed George Ellicot and Jarrard Hopkins (the Yearly Meeting's Clerk), to visit them and give them such council as they should think expedient when among them; and also Philip Thomas, to assist them in their farming, the ensuing season; and the War Department sent

David Jinkinson, carpenter, and Richard Palmer, blacksmith, to reside and work with them; all of which, in a company, came to my house in the fore part of the day, and stayed with me until about that time next day, to refresh themselves and horses, and then proceeded on their journey. Unfortunately, Nathan and David were not at home; they were at work on our 500 acre plantation, where we propose to raise a crop the ensuing summer,—farm some here and some there, until we can get ready to move there. George Ellicot gave it as his opinion, that there is more rich, fertile land in the State of Ohio than in Virginia; Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, all put together. Remember the State of Ohio is but a small proportion of the land contained between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers; and Richard Palmer says he will never go over the mountains again to live, and, that it woud be better if some of his Brothers would come here, and not stay there getting nothing. He desired I would send word about him in a letter to his old acquaintances.

Two Kentuckians traveled through this neighborhood, and made the following remarks: "That the State of Ohio would decidedly have the advantage of Kentucky, for the following reasons: First, the climate is more friendly to the growth of wheat; and secondly, the streams of water are constant and steady—not swelled into floods by winter rains, nor dried up by summer drouths, but in many places mills can go constantly all the year; when on the other hand in Kentucky, when they should be manufacturing their wheat for market, their mills can't go for want of water." The mill before our door, grist and saw-mill, with all the fertile land belonging to it—near 100 acres has been bought up by a wealthy Quaker who is able for it. Another wealthy Quaker, near the Big Miami, has a grist-mill, a saw-mill, and a fulling-mill, and many hundred acres of capital land, and a sweet daughter about seventeen or eighteen years old, who gains the praises of all who have had the happiness to be acquainted with her.

We have four head of horses, old and young; and thirteen head of cattle, old and young. It begins to be time to enlarge our borders.

I have got a weaving shop and a weaving tackling. I have wove a number of pieces and made out bravely; but the worst difficulty is, I am overrun with custom.

If Mr. Comfort was to see our lands in this country, I am apprehensive that when he returned to his own plantation that he would like it 500 pounds worse, instead of 500 pounds better, as he expressed himself when he returned from Maryland.

A straight-coated Friend (a millwright), is about purchasing some hundreds of acres of land adjoining my plantation, and intends to have grist-mill running, in less than a year from now, on his land. He has a sweet, pretty daughter, just cleverly merchantable. There is a fine chance for young men in this country—good land and pretty girls plenty; there were six fair ones passing my door this morning in a troop. But, setting aside all nonsense, although true, I request that when thee has read this letter, to convey it to Joseph Saterthwaite, and Joseph to make the interesting parts of it as public as may be among my old acquaintances for their information.

Samuel Linton.

THE OPENING SCENES OF THE REBELLION.

BY COLONEL S. K. DONAVIN.

In the spring of 1861 I was a reporter and traveling correspondent on the *Daily Exchange* newspaper, of the City of Baltimore. When the telegraph announced that Mr. Lincoln had reached Pittsburg, en route for Washington City, to be inaugurated President of the United States, I left Baltimore by the Northern Central Railway for the purpose of meeting him and noting the incidents of his journey.

When I reached Altoona I received information that Mr. Lincoln had started from Pittsburg for Harrisburgh. I left my train, which was carrying me west, and took another train for the east. A few hours after I arrived there Mr. Lincoln's train came in. There was an immense number of people in and about the depot, and it was with some difficulty that Mr. Lincoln could be taken to his hotel. I did not see him that night, and when I arose in the morning, to a late breakfast, I was informed that Mr. Lincoln had gone on to Washington, going from Harrisburgh to Philadelphia, and from that point to Washington City, and that he had already arrived there.

Of course I was much annoyed at my failure in getting news, except of a general character, for my paper. In search for the particulars of his leaving, I discovered that an extra train would leave Harrisburgh for Washington City. The object of this train was to convey Mrs. Lincoln and her children, Robert and Thad, and the company that was with her to the National Capital. I determined if possible to get on that train and go as far as Baltimore, at least. I lingered around the depot until the train was made up and the party had arrived to occupy it. There were two coaches to the train, and I concluded I would take the first coach, believing that the pass which I had would carry me. As I was about to step upon the train a gentleman, whom I afterward learned was Mr. Jud, of Illinois, inquired of me what my business was. I explained

to him I was a Baltimore newspaper man and that I had started to meet Mr. Lincoln, but, as the President-elect was already in Washington, I was of the opinion that my duty called me there and I wanted to get there as soon as possible. He politely but very firmly told me I could not travel on that train, as it was a special and for the benefit of Mrs. Lincoln, her family and her friends.

Mr. John S. Gittings, a banker and very prominent in business affairs in the City of Baltimore, was president of the Northern Central Railway Company. I learned that he had come from Baltimore, and had ordered that special train, and that he was going to return on it. I sought Mr. Gittings, explained to him my situation, and expressed my anxiety to get to Baltimore or further, and asked him if it were not possible for me to go forward on that train. His reply was, "Certainly, Mr. Donavin, I will see that you are permitted to travel on this train," and taking me by the arm he led me to the coaches. There again we met Mr. Jud, whereupon, Mr. Gittings informed him who I was, claiming me as his friend, and expressed a desire that I should be permitted to ride on the train. Mr. Jud remarked: "With your assurances, Mr. Gittings, I waive any objection I have to Mr. Donavin traveling with the party." Accordingly I took a seat in the forward coach. There was no other occupant when I entered it. Two youths came into that car just after it started, and in reply to an inquiry they informed me that they were Robert and Thad Lincoln; and so I had the pleasure of the company of these two boys from Harrisburgh to Baltimore, with the exception of short visits they made to the rear car.

At the City of York there was an immense outpouring of the people. Thousands of people, a majority of whom were women, filled the space around the depot and the adjacent streets. Several brass bands played, and men who seemed to be managers of the demonstration rode to and fro, at times endangering human life. The people could not be made to believe that Mr. Lincoln was not on board. They, in vehement voice, demanded that the 'old rail-splitter be trotted out." A stop of a few minutes, and the train sped onward. After crossing

the line into Maryland a great change presented itself. There were no vast crowds—no cheers—no bands. The people at the depots were sullen, and showed nothing but a curious disposition. On reaching Baltimore the train stopped at the Charles street crossing, where Mrs. Lincoln and the sons entered the private carriage of Mr. John S. Gittings, which was in waiting, and were driven to the residence of Mr. Gittings, on Charles street, where they remained his guests for a few hours. They proceeded to Washington over the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. On the arrival of the train at Calvert street station, thousands of people were in attendance. The air was weighted with cries for "Jeff Davis," "the rebels," and some other persons anathematized "Lincoln." As I stepped from the train I was besieged with questions, as to "Where is Lincoln?" "Is he in Washington?" "How did he get there?" Notwithstanding the telegraph news published confirmed the story of his trip via Philadelphia, the people, or a least a large majority of them, did not believe it. Hundreds of men called on me to find out all about Mr. Lincoln. But I was destitute of news, and could only reply, "You know as much about him as I do." No incident of moment took place after Mrs. Lincoln reached the residence of Mr. Gittings. She was lunched, and then carefully guarded she and the children were taken to the Camden street station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

On the 5th of March, after I had reported the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, I was ordered to proceed to Richmond, and report the Virginia State Convention, which had been assembled for the purpose of determining the relation which the State of Virginia should hold to the Federal Government. I stopped a number of times on my way for the purpose of getting a correct estimate of the sentiment of the people of the state on the question of secession from the Federal Union. I found much difference of opinion among the people, the old Whig element being (generally) opposed to severing the relations with the Union, while the Democratic element was a unit for joining the Southern Confederacy. I became satisfied that a majority of the people had determined that it was the duty of the state to cast her fortunes with the southern people.

The proceedings of the convention grew in interest and intensity each day. Much ill-feeling prevailed between the Unionists and Secessionists, and at times this bitterness reached the verge of violence. John Baldwin, of Staunton, was leading the Unionists. He was a man of great intellectual power, personal magnetism and undoubted courage. His great speech in opposition to the secession ordinance was replete with argument and eloquence, and was effective so far as solidifying the Union men, members of the convention. To this speech Henry A. Wise, who led the secession force, made reply. Wise was at his best, though trammelled slightly by his course in 1838 and 1854, in his discussion of the "mixed basis" and "white basis" agitations. But he had with him his sarcasm, his satire, his vehemence, his force of manner, and above all the curl of his upper lip, with which he enforced his assaults with the most effective sneer I have ever seen. When he closed, though the debate had not, it was evident that the ordinance would be enacted. The wildest tumult followed his peroration. The streets took up the excitement. Men met each other with congratulations or engaged in violent discussion. The hotel corridors were rank with anathemas of northern people, and laudations of the "Chivalric South" filled the ears with fulsome and constantly reiterated glorification.

On the Tuesday evening following the delivery of Mr. Wise's speech, Alfred Barbour, brother of James and John Barbour, representing, with a Mr. Osborne, the county of Jefferson, in response to a question for news replied to me:

"If you want news, go to Charleston. You will get plenty there within a day or two."

"What will I get? Tell me; what will take place?" I asked.

"I have said all to you I can say. Go to Charleston, and get there quick," he replied.

I concluded to take his advice. Before midnight I had packed my valise, and was on a train for Charleston, South Carolina. It was just sunrise when I reached Wilmington, North Carolina. Breakfast was taken, and then, over a railroad which ran on tressel-work for many miles, I started to reach Florence Junction, to run down to Charleston. When our train

stopped at the junction I was surprised to see a hundred or more soldiers, most of whom were lying around "kind of loose," with here and there among them an officer who seemed very busy. On getting from the train I was informed that I was in a "foreign land," and that Florence was a "custom house." When my trunk was put from the baggage car I was respectfully requested to open it, that it might be examined for "contraband articles." I unlocked the trunk. The first thing in sight was three hundred Principee segars, lying in bunches in the top drawer. I disclaimed being in the segar trade, and then handed them my correspondence card, and also a letter of introduction to President Davis. This assured me large consideration. The examination of my trunk ceased and kind regrets were expressed that I had not shown them my credentials, such they considered my letter to Mr. Davis. It took urging on my part to get them to help themselves, moderately, to my segars.

An Irish woman who was bound for Charleston, her home, refused to unlock her trunk or give up her keys. She had a witty and glib tongue, and commenced a tirade, which soon settled the question of search. The officers slipped aside and talked quietly a few moments, when one of them remarked to the woman, "You can proceed to Charleston."

"Of course I can. The likes of you can't stop me. Twenty-six years I've lived in Charleston. My husband and my babies are there. You'd have a heap of trouble if you were down there, and I could stop long enough from kissing Mike to tell him of your interference. I couldn't go up to bid my old mother good-by in Petersburg unless you made me a foreigner. Think of it—going to Mike and the children, and you want to make a foreigner of me. Bad cess to ye."

I got to Charleston Wednesday, where I met several Virginians whom I knew when I lived in the old state. These acquaintances assured me respectful treatment. Newspaper men were not so inquisitive then as now. I remained in my hotel without molestation or visitors.

At day dawn on Friday morning I waked with the roar of cannon in my ears. The attack had commenced on Sumpter.

As I sprang from my bed, the first thought I had was—"The ball has started. Now, for the fulfillment of the prophecies of the old man in Charleston jail, John Brown." I dressed rapidly and proceeded to the lower floor. Reaching the foot of the staircase, I met ex-United States Senator Louis A. Wigfall, of Texas; Patrick Henry Aylott, a Mr. Yancey, but not William L., and a Mr. Rhett, but not Barnwell, whom I knew, as I also did William L. Yancey. These gentlemen were much excited, and Mr. Wigfall remarked;

"Well, we have started the ball."

"Yes," I replied, "to my sorrow, at least."

A disposition was shown to discuss the situation, when I said:

"Gentlemen, I do not seek discussion this morning. Neither will I avoid it. But I would like to close the talk with a prediction."

"Let us hear the prophet," remarked Mr. Wigfall.

The eyes of all the company turned to me as an invitation to proceed, when I said:

"Gentlemen, the northern people have never believed that you would do this thing. But, as you say, you have started the ball. You are much better prepared for fight than is the north. It will take some time to arouse their people, but they will be aroused, and when they are, like all large bodies which get their momentum, they will roll over this southland and crush you all into the earth."

There was a loud laugh in response to this, and one of them suggested that we close the discussion by taking a drink, which we did.

The assault on Sumpter has been so often and so well told that it is not necessary for me to describe. General Anderson, the commander, was compelled to surrender, and Sunday afternoon the Union troops were transferred to the shore and marched through the streets of Charleston as prisoners of war. Sunday night I left the city for Augusta, where I remained a day. No division of sentiment could be noticed. Everybody was for secession. The people were under great excitement, and men were enlisting, while organized companies, with drum

and fife, were parading the streets. I went on to Atlanta. The same conditions prevailed. President Lincoln had issued a call for 75,000 men, and the south was awakening to the fact that there would be war. There was no despondency. Everybody seemed glad that there would be fighting. It was forty-eight hours before I reached Montgomery. The scenes in that city beggar description. The Confederate Government was located there. It did not occupy the capitol building, nor indeed any of the state buildings, but occupied rented quarters, a building which had been recently erected was taken, and the president's office and cabinet departments were located in it.

I had a letter of introduction from ex-Governor Pratt, of Maryland, an intimate of President Davis. When I called at the state buildings (such was the name of the Confederate Government quarters) I found the stairway and the rotunda thronged with people. It was with much difficulty that I reached the door opening to the president's room. A youth of seventeen was acting as door-keeper. Handing him the letter of introduction and my card I requested him to take them to President Davis. He refused to accept them, remarking: "The president is not receiving this morning."

"I do not expect to be received," I replied, "but it is necessary that the president should receive this letter immediately. Take it to him."

The youth looked at the superscription, and then at my card, and with apparent reluctance took them inside. He returned almost instantly, without an answer, and I stepped to the rear a few paces. There was the tinkling of a bell, and the youth entered the president's room. In a few seconds he returned, and called my name aloud. I answered and was soon in the presence of the president. Mr. Davis received me, giving me his right hand and placing his left on my shoulder, saying:

"I am very glad to meet you. Before being seated permit me to introduce to you these gentlemen, members of my cabinet."

I was introduced to Secretary of War Walker, Secretary of the Navy Mallory, Attorney General Benjamin and Assistant

Secretary of State Browne. President Davis pointed to a chair at his side and I was seated. With the exception of questions on ordinary affairs, President Davis did the talking.

"When did you leave Baltimore?'" he asked.

"On the 5th day of March," I replied.

"Oh! you have not been in Maryland for weeks?"

"No, sir. I have been in Virginia and South Carolina, except a few days I spent in Georgia, as I came hither," I answered.

"You have been away from Maryland so long that you are destitute of news," said Mr. Davis.

"Not entirely destitute. I think I know much of the sentiment of Maryland. I have reported every notable gathering in the state, which convened to discuss the present political situation, and I am familiar with the temper and intentions of the people of the state," I answered.

"What is your opinion as to the sentiment of the state?" he asked.

"It is adverse to the movement of the southern states. Do not misunderstand me. There is a large sympathy with the Confederate movement, but it is not strong enough to control the action of the state. Many of the leading men of the state, who are in complete accord with the secession movement, are opposed to the withdrawal of the State of Maryland. They are of opinion that it is best that the state should remain neutral—be considered neutral ground, and thus be spared the horrors of war."

President Davis interrupted me with:

"What particular facilities did you have for acquiring your information?"

"Reporting the bodies which convened to discuss the situation," I replied. "The most important gathering was that which was held in the Universalist Church, corner of Saratoga and Calvert streets. It was composed of the representative men of every part of Maryland. While there were heated discussions the burden of sentiment was conservative. I paid marked attention to that convention, and when it was over, I came to the conclusion that the Maryland people would not

consent that their state should be made the battlefield. They want to remain neutral. A large number of Marylanders will come south and join actively in military operations, but those who remain will do their utmost to prevent their state from withdrawing."

"I think, Mr. Donavin, we have got later information of the intentions of the Maryland people than you bring," the president remarked.

"That is possible, Mr. President. I have given you my opinion after the closest observation, for months. It is possible the temper of the people of Maryland has changed," I replied.

"In all probability, Mr. Donavin, within twenty-four hours the Federal Government will attempt to march Massachusetts troops through Baltimore. What will be the effect of such a move and what will be the result?"

"Mr. President," I replied, "the Federal Government will march troops through the City of Baltimore."

President Davis smiled at my reply and shook his head, when I continued:

"Yes, sir; they will be marched through. They may be assaulted by a mob, but there will not be organized military brought against them. The efforts of a mob will amount to but little. A thousand armed men, well officered, will march through the streets of Baltimore, or through the streets of any city, where organized military are not used to prevent."

Again the president shook his head, when I continued:

"Mr. President, a thousand armed men are a terrible force. They must be met by a force of similar character before they can be overcome. Within eighteen months I have witnessed the effectiveness of organized men, well armed. I reported the capture of John Brown."

A strange intelligence came into his eyes. After a few minutes more talk, which was not of moment, I retired.

The following morning, just after breakfast, I went into Dent's billiard hall to play billiards. When in the third game, a man entered under great excitement, and declared, with an oath:

"The ——— Yankees attempted to march a regiment of Massachusetts soldiers through Baltimore. Our people attacked them, and killed them in the streets. They are still killing them."

I laid down my cue, paid for the games and went to the state buildings. There was an immense crowd surrounding them, and the stairs were impassable. After a continuous fight I succeeded in reaching the president's room, but could not gain admittance. I went to the office of the secretary of war, where they read me a telegram corroborating the story of the butchery. Several times during the day I endeavored to reach President Davis, but was not successful. The next morning the president was early at his room, and when announced he admitted me. His face showed care and anxiety. He was pleasant, but to some degree absent minded. In a few minutes he turned to me and said:

"Mr. Donavin, your information was better than that which we received from other sources. The Massachusetts troops marched through Baltimore yesterday afternoon and are now in Washington."

While he spoke he tapped the table at which he sat with the fingers of his right hand. I replied:

"Mr. President, I am not surprised. A thousand armed men, properly officered, is a great force."

"Yes, yes," he replied, and raising his eyes and looking at the ceiling, he seemed absorbed in thought. The silence was becoming painful to me, when he turned to me and said:

"I would have given ten years of my life to have been in Baltimore City night before last."

He then relapsed into his meditative mood, when I arose, thanked him for his courtesy, and bade him good morning. Going back to my hotel, I witnessed a scene of excitement and dissipation such as I had never seen before. Men were mad with delirium, which was increased by the intoxicants they were pouring down their throats. Ladies in fine equipages were riding through the streets, bowing to friends, or stopping to get the particulars of the Baltimore tragedy. As the day

advanced the excitement increased, so that when night came there was a saturnalia.

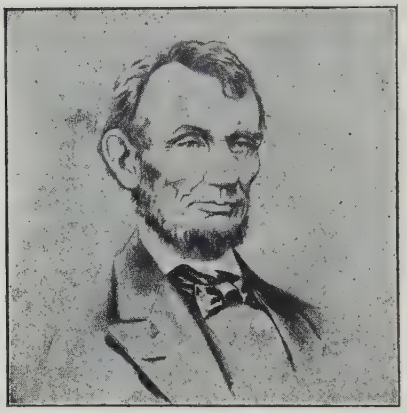
The city was covered with flags. From staffs and windows, and all conceivable places from which the Confederate emblem could fly it was displayed. Public and private vehicles were adorned with the flag, which consisted of the bars, and in the blue field there was a circle of stars. Everybody was impatiently waiting the action of the Virginia Convention. When the telegraph announced that the secession ordinance had been enacted shouts and huzzahs filled the air. Men, and indeed women, embraced each other on the streets, and congratulations reached the utmost profusion which enthusiasm and emotion could prompt. Within a few minutes the flags had nearly all disappeared, and in a few minutes more they reappeared with a large star in the center of the ring of stars. These stars had been prepared and a few stitches sewed them to their place. With the reappearance of the flags the excitement was intensified, and the shouting and cheering fairly split the air. Elegant carriages sought the public square, near the Exchange Hotel, and richly-dressed ladies, old and young, not only added their presence to the wild furor, but joined in the demonstration, by clapping their hands, waving their handkerchiefs and parasols, and at times joining the acclaims.

In the Exchange Hotel the feeling exhibited was intense. Men were frenzied and there was no exuberance in which they did not indulge. There was an exception. A man, a Virginian, was in tears. His sobs could be heard yards away from him. In reply to some friends who were attempting to cheer him, he said:

"Yes, you have got old Virginia out. You had to have her. You realized that your movement would have collapsed without old Virginia. She was necessary to you and you have forced her out. You want her blood, her treasure and her history, and you have them. God pity the old Mother, for she will be harrowed over, and blood and death will possess her." He was led away by friends.

I remained in Montgomery, with the exception of a few trips out into other parts of the state, until the Confederate Gov-

ernment moved to Richmond. I was permitted to ride on the train which took it north. I ran out to Gordonsville, and merely glanced at the soldiers. Returned to Richmond and took the South Side Railroad for Norfolk, and thence to Baltimore, on the Bay Line steamer. The following day the rebels destroyed the Norfolk Navy Yard.



COMMENTS, NOTES AND REVIEWS.

E. O. Randall
Editor.

DEWEY IN OHIO.

During the month of June guests of international fame were voyagers through the State of Ohio. The peculiar features of their respective visits are deserving of permanent note, not only because of the prominence which the guests occupy in the history of our day, but because of the significance of the events which they represent. The first of these in time and importance was the three days' stay in Columbus, his only stop in Ohio, of Admiral George Dewey, hero of Manila, and perhaps the most illustrious figure of our generation. The Admiral with his wife, secretary and servant retinue, arrived in Columbus on Wednesday afternoon, June 6, and for three days was the honored and delighted guest of Ohio's Capital. The weather was propitious and the streets in gala attire, and the period of his stay was to his party a "continuous performance" of banquets, dinners, receptions, parades and entertainments. Vast throngs of people, not only from the city, but all parts of the state, crowded the streets in order to catch a glimpse of the incomparable victor, who on that memorable May day morning (1898) steamed into Manila Bay and almost in the "twinkling of an eye" sunk Admiral Montojo's ten Spanish ships with hundreds of sailors to the bottom of the sea, and this too without the loss of a single American sailor and with scarcely any damage to the American vessels. The suggestive feature of the Admiral's visit was that, although he was received with the greatest courtesy and respect due his office and his unparalleled achievements in the annals of the country, there was still lacking a spontaneity and heartiness of enthusiasm which is usually accorded to military and naval heroes by their fellow countrymen. Dewey upon his arrival in New York, in October, 1899, was greeted with perhaps the greatest demonstration of honor and pride ever accorded by any country to a national idol. His trip the past months, by invitation, extending from New York to Chicago and St. Louis, and a few cities of the South,

GEORGE DEWEY

did not create the public outbursts that marked his welcome upon his return to American shores. Seldom if ever in the story of hero worship was a man so suddenly and so rapidly elevated to so exalted a station in the popular estimation of the people and then so quickly and so sadly lowered therefrom; upon his midday splendor the shades of night fell fast and he that,

> Once trod the ways of glory,
> And sounded all the depths and shoals of honor"
>
> * * * * *
>
> "Fell, from morn to dewy eve,
> A summer's day; and with the setting sun,
> Dropped from the zenith like a falling star."

Within a few short weeks following his return to this country and the receptions of unprecedented official and popular acclaim, came his marriage; his transfer to his already wealthy wife of the palatial residence that his admiring countrymen had presented him for his own; his quixotical announcement of his aspiration to the presidency without regard to platform and no little twaddle by himself and his better (?) half in his behalf. In Columbus, as in Chicago, St. Louis, and the southern cities the crowds were great, but they were crowds that assembled from a common curiosity of humanity, rather than the admiration of an exultant populace. He was still the Commodore of the victorious American fleet in Manila Bay, but his subsequent speedy career had stripped him of the superhuman qualities which an impulsive and imaginative populace is all too apt to attribute to a popular favorite. The admiral in his appearance surpassed his pictorial representations and in manner was modest, simple and unaffected. On the first evening of his stay he participated in an open camp-fire under the auspices of the G. A. R., at the Columbus Auditorium, in the presence of several thousand people. Upon being introduced in fitting words by Governor Nash, the Admiral hesitatingly arose, looked helplessly in the direction of his wife, who smiled as if to encourage him, and then in a quivering but strong voice said: "Comrades—I would rather enter Manila Bay tonight than face this audience. Your honored Governor kindly said that I was the greatest fighter of modern times—I am not; my wife knows that I am not. Comrades of 1861 to 1865 I am here to see you tonight. There are not many of us left; whenever I see the button of the Loyal Legion—I wear that button—I feel like taking the wearer by the hand and calling him brother. The last war compared with that war in which you and I served was but a scrimmage. It was nothing. I am glad to see you and my heart is with you always. Thank you," and bowing bashfully as a school boy in his first piece, the Admiral took his seat. Without doubt the Admiral has many strong and lovable traits of character, like every genuine military hero he is imbued with moral courage; unwavering love of county; sympathy for humanity; and unassuming large-

heartedness. Many incidents occurred during his stay to evidence the gentleness of his nature and the breadth of his sympathy with the unfortunate and the oppressed.

THE BOERS IN OHIO.

On Monday evening, June 12, but a few days after the departure of Admiral Dewey, the city for a few hours was the host, as Mr. Dooley would say, "inofficially" of two other distinguished guests, namely, Messrs. Wessells and Fischer, Boer representatives of the Transvaal Republic, who are traversing this country in the hopes of eliciting sympathy and aid for the sister republic in the heart of Africa. In March the two South African Republics (Republic of South Africa and Orange Free State) addressed to the United States Government and some of the European powers, particularly Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, through their consuls at Pretoria, a request for friendly "intervention" in behalf of their country in the unequal struggle with the British Empire. Replies from all the select *invitées* were received of the polite "compliments but regrets" order. Secretary Hay and Lord Salisbury exchanged notes in which Uncle Sam expressed "hope that a way to bring about peace might be found" but John Bull coldly intimated that the "affair" had gone too far and would have to be continued to "a finish." The Envoys then as a *dernier resort* turned their faces America-ward and landed in New York May 15. The two named above entered Columbus late in the evening, almost unheralded, and were escorted by a semi-self-constituted committee of prominent citizens to the City Hall, where an audience of 500 or 600 gave them a half-hearty welcome as they passed up the aisle to the stage. The Mayor of the city, several councilmen and an ex-mayor spoke a few words of greeting in glittering generalities. Mr. C. W. Wessels, President of the Transvaal Volksraad, presented at some length the claims of his countrymen to the sympathy of the American people. Mr. Wessells, we were told, was a typical Boer, exceedingly tall, muscular build, and long, flowing patriarchial beard. He spoke with a sort of German accent, but in very good English and in a forceful and sincere manner. He gave a brief and desultory historical sketch of the South African Republic, dwelling with great emphasis upon the common racial origin of the Boers and Americans; upon the fact that the early ancestry of the Boers left their native Dutch country to found a new republic in the dark continent but a few years after the Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Holland to establish the American Republic on the shores of Cape Cod. He gave illustrations to show that the English had always been the oppressors of the Boers, and that they had always

C. W. WESSELS.

sought to obtain possession of their lands, following them as they moved farther inland in the hope of securing control of the valuable mines they were supposed to contain. He referred to the Jameson raid as an instance of the greed of the British and cited other incidents in support of his claim that Great Britain only cared for the rich gold mines in Africa.

"They accuse us, of illtreating the natives," continued Mr. Wessells. "When we settled where our republics were founded, there were but few natives there. They soon learned that the Boers protected them and then they swarmed into our villages. Today there are three natives to every one white man in our republics. When the war began they wanted to fight for us. We refused to permit them, but had them take care of our horses and drive our wagons.

"The Hebrews, a race of people once noted for their bravery and warfare, and who have now resolved themselves into a race of money-lenders, were also our friends, and they are fighting side by side with our burghers. The British say we are mistreating the Catholics. Some of our highest officials in Pretoria are Catholics and the Catholic Church owns some of the most valuable property in the city. Instead of the Catholics in our republics fighting against us they have joined with us in the war with those who claim they are seeking to liberate them."

Mr. Wessells said that entire families, including men 75 years of age, children 15 years old and women and children were engaged in the war with the British. He said that while they were building up their republic the British were assembling their soldiers from all parts of the world at different points in South Africa. He asked whether they had not, therefore, done right in their action in beginning the war, or should they have waited until they had been surrounded and the British had opened the war.

"We have died for our country; we are still dying; we are fighting today!" said Mr. Wessells. "Lord Roberts is in Pretoria, they say, but the British were once in Washington, and still they did not conquer America. We know God will give us liberty!"

Mr. Wessells next referred to the Boer style of fighting. He said they were on the defensive. When they defeated the British they did not press on after them and endeavor to kill them, but stopped and held meetings of prayer. The dying and the wounded were cared for and no attempt was made to follow a successful charge.

In conclusion he said: "We want you to tell Great Britain you don't agree with her in her attempts to crush the South African republics. We trust that you will do something for us in this line, and that your men will do something. We don't want you to fight our battles, but we want America to be our jury, and if you don't find us guilty of what we have been accused of, stop the war. I trust that God Almighty will show you a way to assist us in giving us our liberty—gaining our liberty as you did one day. While it looks dark for us now, we remember it is always darkest before dawn."

Mr. A. D. Fischer, Secretary of the Orange Free State, and a man of apparently more culture but less force than Mr. Wessells, followed in a short address of similar strain. Resolutions of sympathy for the Boer republic and expressing "Our hope that they may be able to continue the present struggle until right conquers might, until the Boers dispel for all time England's dream of an Empire in South Africa," were passed by a slight vote in their favor and no vote to

the contrary. A shade of pathetic and almost tragic sadness was cast over the proceedings of the of the meeting; by the fact that only a few short hours before the wires across the wide waters had flashed the news that General Roberts with the British troops had occupied Pretoria, meaning that it was the beginning of the end, for the plucky, but all too rash, Dutch descendants in the African republic, and that England's star of empire was more than ever in the ascendancy. Thus revolve like a kaleidoscope the scenes of history.

VATRALSKY'S TRIBUTE TO MACGAHAN.

Januarius Aloysius MacGahan was born June 4, 1844, on a farm three miles from New Lexington, Perry county, Ohio. His father was a native of County Derry, Ireland, and his mother of mixed Irish and German stock. When MacGahan was six years old his father died and the boy had a serious struggle with the world throughout his youth and early manhood. He was phenomenally bright and intellectual, and in spite of the exacting labors on the farm, which he had to perform in behalf of himself and his widowed mother, he nevertheless acquired by diligent reading and study a certain kind of valuable education. He absorbed all the books in the neighborhood and what little the country pedagogue knew, when in 1861 he applied for the position of school teacher in his district and was refused because of his youth and inexperience. He thereupon moved his mother's family to Huntington, Indiana, where he taught school for three years, thence moving on to St. Louis, where he began his remarkable career as a writer and correspondent. In December, 1868, he went to Europe for the purpose of perfecting himself in the foreign languages. At the beginning of the France – Prussian conflict he was employed by the *New York Herald* to accompany the French army and report the course of the war. Mr. MacGahan's ability, daring courage and graphic descriptive powers at once placed him in the fore rank of modern war correspondents. His letters were in demand by the leading English and American journals and he did specially bold and brilliant work for the *London News*. It was said by a contemporary writer that "His experiences, in variety, during the few years of foreign life, were not probably ever equaled by any journalist, and never did one accomplish so much, excepting Stanley." He witnessed the ravages of the Commune in Paris (1870) when he was arrested and condemned to death, his execution being prevented only through the influence of the United States Minister Washburn. He accompanied General Sherman and party through Europe in 1871–2. In 1873, alone, he made a perilous journey through Asia to Khiva. In the same year he circumnavigated the Mediterranean in a warship and visited Cuba, Key West and traveled extensively through

the United States. It 1874 he was with the troops of Don Carlos in the Civil War in Spain. During this service he became a prisoner of the Republican soldiers, who took him for a Carlist and would have put him to death but for the intervention of the United States minister. In 1875 he accompanied the Pandora expedition to the Arctic seas. In 1876 occurred his memorable experience with the Turkish army and his journey through Bulgaria, followed the next year by his visit to St. Peters-

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burg and subsequent accompaniment of the Russian army to Bulgaria, where he was everywhere "hailed a liberator and deliverer." Archibald Forbes, the great English war correspondent, who rode by his side, says: "The grateful and affectionate demonstrations of the people of Bulgaria towards MacGahan surpassed anything of the kind he ever saw or imagined, for the grateful people ran after him as he rode through the streets of the towns and villages of that country, kissing

his boots, saddle, bridle, and even the little pet horse that he rode." Of MacGahan's services to the cause of humanity Mr. Forbes has this to say: "MacGahan's work in the exposure of the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, which he carried out so thoroughly and effectively in 1876, produced very remarkable results. Regarded simply in its literary merits, there is nothing I know of to excel it in vividness, in pathos, in burning earnestness, in a glow of conviction that fires from the heart to the heart. His letters stirred Mr. Gladstone into a convulsive paroxism of burning revolt against the barbarities they described. They moved England to its very depths, and men travelling in railway carriages were to be noticed with flushed faces and moistened eyes as they read them. Lord Beaconsfield tried to whistle down the wind the awful significance of the disclosures made in those wonderful letters. The master of jeers, jibed at, as 'coffee-house babble', the revelations that were making the nations to throb with indignant passion. A British official, Mr. Walter Baring, was sent into Bulgaria on the track of the two Americans, MacGahan and Schuyler, with the intent to disparage their testimony by the results of cold official investigation. But lo! Baring, official as he was, nevertheless was an honest man with eyes and a heart; and he who had been sent out on the mission to curse MacGahan, blessed him instead altogether, for he more than confirmed the latter's figures and pictures of murder, brutality and atrocity. It is not too much to say that this Ohio boy, who worked on a farm in his youth and picked up his education anyhow, changed the face of Eastern Europe. When he began to write of the Bulgarian atrocities, the Turk swayed direct rule to the banks of the Danube, and his suzerainty stretched to the Carpathians. Now Roumania owns no more the suzerainty, Servia is an independant kingdom, Bulgaria is tributary but in name, and Roumelia is governed, not for the Turks, but for the Roumelians. All this reform is the direct and immediate outcome of the Russo-Turkish war.

"But what brought about the Russo-Turkish war? What forced the Czar, reluctant as he was and inadequately prepared, to cross the Danube and wage with varying fortune the war that brought his legions finally to the very gates of Stamboul? The passionate, irresistible pressure of the Pan-Slavist section of his subjects, burning with ungovernable fury against the ruthless Turk, because of his cruelty on those brother Slavs of Bulgaria and Roumelia; and the man who told the world and those Russian Slavs of those horrors—the man whose voice rang out clear through the nations with its burden of wrongs and shame and deviltry, was no illustrious statesman, no famed literateur, but just this young American from off the little farm in Perry county, Ohio."

MacGahan was preparing to attend and write up the International Congress at Berlin, when, declining to abandon a sick friend at Constantinople, he was himself attacked with the malignant fever that had prostrated his friend, and died after a few days' illness, June 9, 1878.

In the year 1884, his remains at Constantinople were disinterred and brought by the United States steamer "Powhatan" to this country. In New York city the remains lay in state for a day in the city hall, where thousands paid tribute to the honored dead. The remains were subsequently brought to Columbus, Ohio, where again for a day they lay in state in the rotunda of the capitol building. His funeral was held September 12, 1884, at New Lexington, Ohio. The religious exercises were conducted at St. Rose Church by Bishop John A. Watterson, who delivered an eloquent address upon the "Power and Responsibility of the Newspaper Press."

The body was borne to the grave, in the little cemetery just outside of the village, attended by thousands of interested spectators, and some sixty distinguished journalists, representing all parts of the state. At the grave, after military honors, and the usual religious rites an eulogy on the life and character of J. A. MacGahan was pronounced by E. S. Colborn, a poem was read by Col. William A. Taylor and an address delivered by Hon. Silas H. Wright, on "The Office of a Newspaper Correspondent."

Great interest is freshly awakened in the life and memory of MacGahan by the visit to his grave, on May 19, 1900, of Stoyan Krstoff Vatralsky, a native of Bulgaria, a great admirer of MacGahan and ardent appreciator of the vast services which the American rendered to the oppressed people of Bulgaria. Mr. Vatralsky came to this country a few years ago for the purpose of obtaining an education in the English language, and is a recent graduate of Harvard University, and an able lecturer and writer on religious and ethical topics, and is moreover a thorough scholar in the history and literature of his native land and the great eastern questions in which her destiny is involved. He will return to his foreign home in September and devote his life to the enlightenment and betterment of his fellow countrymen, the Bulgarians. Upon his visit to New Lexington he was received with the greatest kindness and courtesy by the citizens, and at an informal meeting, held in the New Lex-

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ington Court House, Mr. Vatralsky addressed the people of MacGahan's native county in the following brief and inexpressive words:

"I do not come here in an official capacity; yet, in coming thus to honor the dust of MacGahan, I am a representative of the Bulgarian people. We Bulgarians sincerely cherish in the grateful niche of our memory the name of Januarius Aloysius MacGahan as one of the liberators of our country.

"MacGahan and Eugene Schuyler, another true American, were Bulgaria's first friends, and at the time she needed them most. They not only accomplished a great work themselves, at an opportune time, but furthermore set in motion forces and influences that made other men's work more effective, thus rendering the achievement of her liberation possible. Had it not been for these American writers, their graphic and realistic exposure of Bulgaria's wounds and tears to the world, there would have been no Gladstonian thunder; no European consternation; no Russo-Turkish war; no free Bulgaria. It was the American pen that drove the Russian sword to action.

"Although he died at the early age of thirty-four, MacGahan's life was far from being either brief or in vain. Measured not by years but by achievements, he lived a long life. Long enough to set history to the task of writing his name among the world's illustrious; among the great journalists, philanthropists and liberators of whole races. And I venture to predict that in the future his merits shall be more universally, more adequately recognized than hitherto. Bulgaria and Ohio must and will yet do what becomes them as enlightened states. Some of you, as I hope, shall live to see a suitable memorial marking his resting place. Yet even now MacGahan has a prouder monument than most historic heroes—his monument is independent Bulgaria. His name illumines the pages of Bulgarian history, and his cherished name is graven deep in the heart of a rising race; and there it shall endure forever."

After this meeting Mr. Vatralsky visited the burial place of the great American Journalist and after strewing flowers upon the unmarked grave, laid the following original ode upon the mound:

TO JANUARIUS ALOYSIUS MACGAHAN.

A pilgrim from the ends of earth I come
To kneel devoutly at your lowly tomb;
To own our debt, we never can repay;
To sigh my gratitude, thank God and pray;
To bless your name, and bless your name—
For this I came.

No marble shaft denotes your resting place;
Yet God has raised memorial to your work
Of grateful hearts that stir a rising race,
No longer subject to the fiendish Turk.

Your years, though few, to shield the weak you spent;
Your life, though brief, accomplished its intent:
All diplomatic shylocks, bloody Turks, despite,
'Twas not in vain the Lord gave you a pen to write;
Your Pen was followed by the Russian Sword,
Driven by force that you yourself called forth;
So came the dauntless warriors of the North,
And bondsmen were to freedom sweet restored.

Though still unmarked your verdant bed, rest you content:
Bulgaria is free — behold your monument!

Stoyan Krstoff Vatralsky.

BURIAL PLACE OF MACGAHAN, NEW LEXINGTON, O.

In a personal conversation with the writer, Mr. Vatralsky spoke in the most touching and pathetic terms of MacGahan, whom he declared was regarded in the country of Bulgaria in the same light as is Washington by the American, Lincoln by the Afro-American and Kosciusko by Poland. It is the aim and ambition of Mr. Vatralsky to inaugurate a movement that will bring about a fitting monument over the remains of MacGahan. He proposes to arouse the interest of his countrymen in this project and since his visit to New Lexington, he presented his plans to President McKinley at Washington, and as the result of that conference he writes:

"I came to Washington for the purpose of interesting President McKinley in the MacGahan monument project; but, as was to be

expected of so enlightened and so public spirited a man, who is as proud of his native state as she is proud of him; who glories in her distinguished sons in whose galaxy he constitutes so conspicuous a member, I found him only too glad to co-operate with any wise movement to that laudable end. He furthermore called my attention to one of his speeches (delivered at the banquet of the Ohio Republican League at Columbus, February 12, 1892), which contains the following superb passage:

"'In journalism she (Ohio) has been conspicuous. The Bulgarian liberator, as he is called, whose fame as correspondent is international, whose life was a chivalrous romance, whose pen was weighted with power and might, the heroic MacGahan, was a Buckeye boy. His body, transferred from the ancient seat of Eastern empire, now rests among the rugged hills of his native county of Perry, where he spent his boyhood.'

"All this is beautifully true, as only the eloquent lips of William McKinley can utter it. But it is not to the credit of any of us that the grave of this Ohio youth, whose name and achievements have added glory to the name American, lustre to journalistic enterprise and dignity to the race of man, should remain still unmarked. His native state is justly proud of him as one of her most distinguished sons, and Bulgaria is sincerely grateful to him as one of her greatest benefactors; it would be in accordance with public sentiment, therefore, as well as a befitting and handsome recognition of MacGahan's high merits, should Ohio and Bulgaria, assisted by the press, whose profession the hero adorned, unite their talent and material contributions in erecting him a becoming memorial."

The editor of the Quarterly has arranged with Mr. Vatralsky for the publication, in a future number, of a complete account from his pen of the services which MacGahan rendered to the cause of humanity, a work which aroused the world to action over the Turkish atrocities, which instigated the Russo-Turkish war and resulted in the independence of Bulgaria.

BOOK REVIEWS.

"Recollections of a Life Time." Roeliff Brinkerhoff; pp. 448, illustrated. The Robert Clark Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Few books of so purely a personal nature as this of General Brinkerhoff's have been issued lately that contain so much of interest to the ordinary reader. General Brinkerhoff in the most unpretentious manner, but in a very delightful, easy and fluent style, has recounted the story of his life, which spans the period of the last three quarters of the present eventful century. Not only is the book most entertainingly written, but it is replete with wise and lightful comments upon events and persons and with profitable philosophical thoughts upon life in its various

phases. In his boyhood General Brinkerhoff was a tutor for some years at the Hermitage, the home of Andrew Jackson, whose grandchildren became the pupils of General Brinkerhoff; he therefore saw and studied thus early the awful system of human slavery. He makes this reflection concerning the effect it produced upon the two races. "The truth is, the negro race, in the compulsory school of slavery, has been elevated to a plane of civiliaztion higher than it has ever attained elsewhere in the world's history, and now that the negro has graduated into freedom and full citizenship, the hope of his future lies in the training and discipline he received in bondage as much as anything we can do for him now. In fact, without that preliminary training, he could do but very little, or at the best nothing more, than has been done in Africa.

"Slavery to the negro was a civilizer, and undoubtedly elevated him far above his previous condition of savagery, but to the whites, as a whole, it was a great curse in almost every direction. It corrupted morals, degraded labor, stifled enterprise and so handicapped the industrial development of the South, that with all its superior advantages by nature, it steadily fell behind its northern competitors."

Of the anti and pro-slavery sides he has this to say: "The Abolitionists of the North and the fire-eaters of the South were simply fanatics of the most ultra type, and each of these parties was an injury to the cause they championed rather than a help. They doubtless were honest men, and self-sacrificing, but they had no charity for each other, and were utterly oblivious to the fact that there are usually two sides to every question and that truth usually lies between two extremes. My experience in life is that the most dangerous man is a wrong-headed, strong-headed, honest man. Philip II in burning Protestants, Calvin in burning Servetus, Cotton Mather, in burning old women as witches, were honest men, and no doubt thought they were doing God's service, but nevertheless they were very cruel and very much mistaken."

The General enjoyed rare opportunities of acquaintance with many of the most distinguished men who figured on the political stage of the last fifty years. Among his close friends were Salmon P. Chase, James G. Blaine; James A. Garfield; Rutherford B. Hayes, Horace Greeley, Samuel J. Tilden, Senator John Sherman, Roscoe Conkling and many others equally prominent. Of Mr. Chase he says: "Salmon P. Chase was the logical candidate of the Republicans for President in 1860, and he would have been the candidate except for the opposition of the old Whig element in the Republican party in Ohio under the leadership of Mr. Corwin. Intellectually, Mr. Chase was the superior of Mr. Lincoln, but he was not a popular leader, and lacked that matchless political sagacity so conspicuous in Mr. Lincoln, and which was so indispensable to a pilot of the ship of state in the stormy years of the Great Rebellion. The only weakness I ever detected in Chase was the infatuation of his later years to be president, and I always thought

that arose more from a desire to gratify the ambition of his daughter rather than his own. Upon this subject he seemed to be unable to see, what every well-informed person could not help seeing, that the presidency to him was impossible."

General Brinkerhoff was one of the early and staunch advocates of Abolition and was a delegate to the Pittsburg Convention, held February 22, 1856, at which the Republican party as a national organization, came into existence and which convention arranged for the later national convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President, and which convention met on June 17, 1856, at Philadelphia. At the Pittsburg convention Mr. Brinkerhoff formed the acquaintance of William Dennison, afterwards Governor of Ohio and postmaster-general in the cabinet of President Lincoln. Of Mr. Dennison he says: "Mr. Dennison was not a great man, but he was an accomplished gentleman, and a reliable and efficient executive officer. His ability as Governor of Ohio at the opening of the war was everywhere recognized, and gave him a national reputation, and made him postmaster-general upon the retirement of Montgomery Blair from Mr. Lincoln's cabinet."

At the outbreak of the Rebellion General Brinkerhoff was appointed first lieutenant of the 61st O. V. I. He was subsequently commissioned as Captain and Assistant Quartermaster in the United States army, but he did not continue in active service throughout the war, as ill health made it necessary for him to return to the North, and he does not, in his memoirs, attempt to give any recital of the civil conflict.

The author gives a very graphic account of the assassination of President Lincoln at Ford's Theatre of which he was an eye witness. General Brinkerhoff after the war failed of an appointment as minister to the Netherlands, and commenting thereon says: "I was not seriously disappointed, and have long since been satisfied that it was a blessing that I failed, and I have never desired nor sought public office since, and I have not yet reached a point where I would be willing to accept any office to which a salary is attached. The truth is, that public life in the United States, as now conditioned, is so evanescent, and public service is so poorly paid, that a competent man, unless already independently rich, cannot afford to enter it, except as a duty, and at a sacrifice, which troublesome times may require. The result is, our civil service in all departments is crippled by incompetents, and must remain far below its possibilities, until character and capacity, instead of political activity, shall be the sole requirements in all departments of the public service which are purely administrative, and tenure in such positions shall be during good behavior. I have faith to believe that the time is not distant when the American people will demand such a condition of our civil service, and I hope to live long enough to see it fairly inaugurated. In our legislative department, where, in the nature of things, politics must be in the ascendant, I see no great promise of large improvement, except in the general improvement of our people in

intelligence and virtue. A democracy is the best government in the world for the masses of men so long as a fair working majority of citizens are intelligent and honest but when these fail the proverbial "man on horseback" is not far off, and the quicker he comes the better. I am an optimist by nature, and possibly I may be too sanguine as to our future, but I have an abiding faith in the American people. They are liable to imposition, and are, more or less, the prey of demagogues, but when matters become so serious as to threaten public order, or the liberties of the people, so that action is indispensable, the average American is as true to the right as the needle to the pole. Our danger now is not from Americans, but from foreigners, and I believe the average American begins to see this fact, and when he does see it fully a remedy will be found. At least let us hope so."

The General gives some very interesting incidents of the political methods of James G. Blaine of whom and of Garfield he says: "I had been told in Maine that Mr. Blaine was slippery and I am sorry to say that I am convinced that they told me the truth. Blaine was a very able man, and wonderfully attractive, but, when the highest test of character came, he was 'slippery.' Garfield was a greater man and a better man, but unfortunately, he lacked the stamina to stand up against political pressure. Left to himself, all of his instincts were for the right, but against pressure he was weak as water. If Garfield had lived to a second term, so as to be beyond the fear of party pressure, he would have been a great President, I think; but, unfortunately, the opportunity was denied him, and his defect of character in all probability caused his assassination.

"Roscoe Conklin I knew from his youth upwards. We were boys together at the Auburn Academy, and I knew every phase of his mental and moral make-up. He was strong where Garfield was weak, and when Garfield failed him he exploded like a bomb, and the consequences are a matter of history. They were both great men, but they both had a fatal weakness. However, 'we are all miserable sinners,' and I drop the curtain upon them both, and upon Blaine also. Of all the statesmen I have intimately known, and of whom I have written in these memoirs, Salmon P. Chase was the noblest. He had his weakness, but his weakness was of the head and not of the heart. I try to be charitable to all, as I hope others will be charitable to me.

"In the senate, Roscoe Conkling was one of the bravest. I rarely agreed with him, but I knew where to find him. He was as imperious as Cæsar, and as proud as Lucifer, but he was true to his word, and he never abandoned a friend to save himself."

General Brinkerhoff devotes a large portion of one of the chapters to the origin and history of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, of which he was the progenitor and is now the President. He called the initial meeting for the purpose of organizing the society, which convened at Mansfield on the first of September, 1875, some fifty

members being present, representing the leading archæologists and scholars of the state. The conference continued for two days, resulting in the formation of "The State Archæological Association of Ohio." General Brinkerhoff was elected President. In 1876 the General Assembly made an appropriation of $2,500.00 to enable this Association to make an archæological exhibit at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and in which Ohio eclipsed all other states, and was second only to the Smithsonian collection made by the United States government. In 1885 this association was reorganized and incorporated (13th of March) as "The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society." In February, 1893, following the death of President Hayes, General Brinkerhoff was elected President of the Society and has since been annually elected. At a banquet in Columbus, February, 1891, of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, General Brinkerhoff was put upon the program to respond to the toast "Ohio at the Columbian Exposition." He had had no time for preparation, but being the last speaker upon the list, bethought himself of some proper way in which Ohio could be represented at the coming world's great fair. He thought of her many distinguished sons and the project occurred to him of erecting upon the exposition grounds a statue which might subsequently be removed to Columbus, the statue to be a symbolical figure of Ohio. This suggestion was: "That Ohio should be represented at the fair by a group of statuary, in the center of which should be a noble matron to represent Ohio, and around her should be such children as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Chase, Stanton and Garfield; and then upon the pedestal shall be engraved the proud utterance of Cornelia, the "Mother of the Gracchi," "These are my jewels." A resolution was unanimously adopted recommending the legislature to adopt the suggestion, and appropriate the funds necessary to have it put in granite and bronze. Later on this idea was carried into effect and that splendid statue now stands in the State House yard, the figure of General Hayes having been added to the number.

For the last twenty-five years General Brinkerhoff has devoted nearly all of his time and energy and much of his means to charitable and philanthropic work. For many years he has been a member of the Ohio State Board of Charities, and has taken a most prominent and influential part in Prison Reform and been President of the National Prison Congress and of its National Association, and also at various times been at the head of the National Association for the promotion of Charitable Institutions.

The final chapter of General Brinkerhoff's book gives his religious views and shows him to be as strong in the orthodox Christian faith as were his forefathers. This book is certainly one that will merit wide reading, not only because of its large amount of valuable information which it imparts in a pleasing narrative way, indeed at times in rollick-

ingly gossipy way, but because of the healthy, stimulative and patriotic sentiments which pervade every page.

"Slavery and Four Years of War." Joseph Warren Keifer. 2 Vol. pp. 676. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

The first chapter, comprising some 150 pages, is devoted to the history of slavery from the time of its introduction into the American colonies to its final extinction under the Emancipation Proclamation. We do not know of a more complete or concise presentation of the terribly interesting theme, negro slavery in America in its political, legal and social aspects than is here presented by General Keifer. This feature of the work alone makes it a valuable one to the general reader.

The author's participation in the Civil War was an important and prominent one. He enlisted as a private soldier on April 27, 1861, was mustered out as a brevet major-general of volunteers on June 27, 1865. He saw active service in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, West Virginia, Maryland and other states. He was in many of the great battles which he describes in detail. He was four times wounded. He received his promotion from the ranks to the generalship for gallant and distinguished services during the campaign, ending with the surrender of the Insurgent army under General R. E. Lee." The regiments under his command were the 110th, 122nd and 126th Ohio; 67th and 138th Pennsylvania; 6th Maryland and 9th New York heavy artillery. The loss which his soldiers sustained were, killed on the field, 54 officers and 812 enlisted men; wounded, 101 officers and 2,410 enlisted men; aggregate, 3,377, only six less than the killed and wounded under Scott and Taylor in their conquest of Mexico (1846 to 1848), and more than the like casualties under the direct command of Washington in the Revolutionary War from Lexington to Yorktown."

The General's narrative of the war is that of a personal nature, a sort of continuous diary, rather than the scholarly and critical work of the historian. He is not a word painter, but he writes in a simple, clear and forceful manner, but to those who take any interest in the recital of the story of the great rebellion, and particularly to those who participated in the events which came under his observation, the work cannot fail to be both attractive and instructive.

General Keifer's work is noticeable for one thing, and that is its creditable absence of bitter criticism of his superiors or contemporaries. He is fair and just to all associates. Always loyal to the situation and the occasion, rather than fault finding and captious. Indeed he deals all too briefly with some of the more famous personages with whom he served or came in contact. Some of his impressions of other generals are worthy of note, particularly that of General Sheridan, of whom he says: "Sheridan seemed restless, nervous and petulant. He was short of stature, especially broad across the shoulders, with legs

rather short even for his height. His head was quite large, nose prominent, eyes full; he had a strong face and was of a cheerful, social disposition, rather than retiring and taciturn. Irish characteristics predominated in him, and when not on duty, he was disposed to be rollicking and free and easy. He was not hard to approach by his inferiors, but he was not always discriminating in the language he used to them. He did not seem to be a deliberate thinker or reasoner, and often gave the impression that his decisions or opinions were off-hand and not the result of reflection. In the quiet of camp he seemed to be less able to combine or plan great movements than in emergencies on the field. In a battle he often showed the excitement of his impetuous nature, but he never lost his head or showed any disposition save to push the enemy. There are some opinions formed after seeing him in several great battles and knowing him personally in all the later years of his life, it remains to say that he was an honest man, and devotedly loyal to his friends."

The General's chapter on his boyhood pursuits and studies is good reading for any American boy, as illustrating how early hard work later makes the strong, vigorous and self-reliant man.

Personal reminiscences of Lincoln are always interesting and worthy of preservation. General Keifer says: "At Springfield, Illinois, I saw and heard in February, 1858, before the Supreme Court, an ungainly appearing man, called Abe Lincoln. He was arguing the application of a statute of limitations to a defective tax title to land. He talked very much in a conversational way to the judges, and they gave attention, and in a Socratic way the discussion went on. I did not see anything to specially attract attention to Mr. Lincoln, save that he was awkward, ungainly in build, more than plain in features and dress, his clothes not fitting him, his trousers being several inches too short, exposing a long, large, unshapely foot, roughly clad. But he was even then, by those who knew him best, regarded as intellectually and professionally a great man. When I next saw him (March 25, 1865, twenty days before his martyrdom) he looked much the same, except better dressed, though he was then President of the United States and commander-in-chief of its army and navy. He appeared on both occasions a sad man, thoughtful and serious. The last time I saw him he was watching the result of an assault on the enemy's outer line of works from Fort Fisher in front of Petersburg, the day Fort Stedman was carried and held for a time by the Confederates."

General Keifer had a conspicuous career in Congress, being a member of the 45th, 46th, 47th and 48th Congresses, ending March 4, 1885, and covering the administrations of President Hayes, Garfield and Arthur. He was speaker of the 47th Congress, being elected over such distinguished competitors as Mr. Reed of Maine, Mr. Burrows, of Michigan, and Mr. Hiscock, of New York. In speaking of this Congress Mr. Keifer pays the following tribute to Messrs. Blaine and Conkling:

"Mr. Blaine was too inordinately ambitious and jealous of power to patiently bide his time, and Mr. Conkling was too imperious and vengeful to tolerate, through his political friends, fair treatment of his supposed enemies. Mr. Conkling was a man of honesty and sincerity, true to his friends to a degree, of overtowering intellect, with marvelous industry. Notwithstanding his many unfortunate traits of character, Mr. Conkling was a great man.

"Mr. Blaine was essentially a politician, and possessed of a vaulting and consuming ambition, and was jealous of even his would-be personal and political friends. Mr. Conkling advised some of his friends in Congress to support me for Speaker, as did also his former senatorial colleague, Mr. Platt, of New York. The members from New York state, however, though many of them were followers of Mr. Conkling, unitedly supported Mr. Hiscock until the latter decided, during the caucus, himself to vote for me. Mr. Blaine, though to me personally professing warm friendship, held secret meetings at the State Department and at his house to devise methods of preventing my election. He had been a member, for many terms, of the House, and thrice its Speaker, had been a Senator, and for a few months Secretary of State under Presidents Garfield and Arthur. He had an extended acquaintance and many enthusiastic friends. He lacked breadth and strength of learning, as well as sincerity of character. He, however, came near being a great man, especially in public, popular estimation."

The final chapter of the General's work is devoted to a brief resume of the late Spanish war, in which he served as a major-general of the American volunteers.

His position in the American troops was illustrative and indicative of the united loyalty of both the North and the South in the New Era of the war for common humanity. General Keifer's ranking commander was General Fitzhugh Lee and in Keifer's division there were southern troops—1st and 2nd Louisiana, 1st and 2nd Alabama and 1st and 2nd Texas. Some of these regiments and many of the companies were commanded by ex-Confederate officers. It was a literal and harmonious blending of the blue and the gray in the cause of the Red, White and Blue. That Spanish-American war of 114 days was memorable, not only for its brevity, but a stupendous victory at a minimum loss on the American side, of which General Keifer gives the following summary: "The total casualties in battle during the war, in our navy, were 17 killed and 67 wounded (no naval officer injured); and in our army, 23 officers and 257 men killed, and 113 officers and 1,464 men wounded; grand total, 297 killed and 1,644 wounded, of all arms of the service.

The deaths from disease and causes other than battle, in camps and at sea, were 80 officers and 2,485 enlisted men. Many died at their homes of disease, some of wounds."

General Keifer's work is a valuable contribution to American history, and the literature concerning the great Rebellion.

THE COXEY MOVEMENT IN OHIO.

BY OSMAN C. HOOPER.

The Coxey movement of 1894 was a fantastic expression, at a critical moment, of the industrial unrest prevalent for a period centering about that date. It was an Ohio product sprung from a Western seed. Named for its Ohio patron, Jacob S. Coxey, its real author and promoter was Carl Browne, a lieutenant of Denis Kearney, in the days of sand-lot politics. The number of unemployed men was large and discontent was widespread; so that, when Coxey and Browne had agreed upon a course of action in Ohio, it was easy for them to induce men in other parts of the country to follow their example. The plan of action was a "petition in boots" to Washington—in other words, the organization of "armies" of the unemployed which were to march to the capital and demand from Congress, then in session, legislation which should directly provide for every man who wanted it work at a good wage.

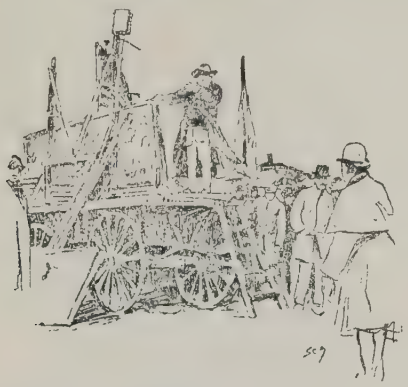
The unique project quickly attracted the attention of the newspapers and it was heralded from one end of the country to the other. Thus with far less expenditure of effort on the part of the promoters than would otherwise have been the case, the formation of the "armies" was begun. In San Francisco, Kelley operated; in Los Angeles, Frye; in Chicago, Randall; in Butte, Hogan; in Providence, Fitzgerald, and in Massillon, O., Coxey and Browne. The common demand of all these "armies," numbering about 6,000 men, was for money and work—money, no matter how cheap, and work, in some cases, at least, no matter how little.

Coxey styled his Massillon movement a movement in favor of good roads. The Pacific armies said little about such reform, demanding instead state aid for irrigating the desert. Frye demanded government employment for all unemployed, prohibition of immigration for ten years and such legislation as would prevent any alien from owning real estate in this country. Aside

from these variations of demand, there was in some respects a lack of concerted action, showing itself at times in sharp criticism by the other leaders of the tactics adopted by Coxey. But, under the circumstances, this was to be expected. The Coxey name was given to all and was unquestioningly accepted by all. If the western organizations were not directed by Coxey in the same way as was the Massillon organization, all had their origin in the Coxey-Browne suggestion and were really looking to the Ohio man for leadership. The lesser "generals" were prominent on the march, but ultimately disappeared in the shadow of their common patron, the Ohio rich man whose sympathy was with the unemployed and whose purse the energetic and versatile Browne had caused to open for the furtherance of his spectacular plans of relief.

It was in the first months of 1894 that Coxeyism made its debut. The advertisements of its plans were full of bombast and very generally provoked a smile. Don Quixote seemed again to have appeared. But as the news of the progress of preparations poured out of Massillon and the predictions of success gathered confidence, people began to regard it seriously—some with a realization that, although grotesque, the movement was not without cause; others with a fear that the unemployed men thus gathered would menace the peace, if not life and property in the communities they traversed. Both these classes of citizens helped the movement along—the first by encouraging words and supplies of provisions and clothing and the second by their care not to arouse the resentment of the "army" and their willingness to do everything possible to hasten the march to the next stopping place. San Francisco citizens, alarmed by the recollections of Kearney and his sand-lot campaign, hurried Kelley and his 1,500 men east. No community wanted them, and many gladly aided in securing the desired and necessary railway transportation. When there were no communities so to act, the Western "armies" boarded freight trains which they practically appropriated, being in such numbers as to make resistance by the railway employes impossible and compulsion by the law authorities difficult. In a less degree these conditions prevailed along the routes of all the armies. About the middle of April, 200

men under the leadership of one Galvin appeared in Ohio and on the 27th were reported at Mt. Sterling where they had seized a train of the Baltimore & Ohio Company. They laughed at the



CARL BROWNE GIVING ORDERS FROM THE PANORAMA WAGON.

company's employes who sought to dislodge them. They refused to obey the local authorities who, in despair, called for the aid of the militia. Colonel Coit and the Fourteenth regiment were sent to the scene. There were fears of a conflict, but the demand of the Colonel, the sight of Gatling guns which were

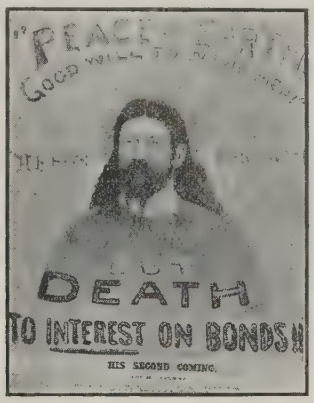
COMMISSARY WAGON. (BROWNE'S PANORAMA ON THE LEFT.)

trained on the intruders and the threat to use them, if the train was not cleared in three minutes, were effective. The militia men boarded the train at one end and the Coxeyites alighted at the other. Subsequently, the authority of the state having been vindicated, the men were aided on their journey to and through Columbus toward the national capital.

But it is with the Ohio contingent, the so-called Commonweal of Christ, that this article has especially to deal; and it will be interesting, having recalled the harsh industrial conditions out of which the movement sprung, to note the character of the propaganda at Massillon, the manner of the organization, the march to Washington and the end of the agitation. Coxeyism, as presented at Massillon, was a strange mixture of ideas plucked from the Bible, from theosophy and the preachments of political reformers generally considered unsound. "Death to usury!" was one of the slogans of Browne's campaign. He shouted it from the rear of his panorama wagon, he painted it on his grotesque canvases and he printed it on his bulletins. With that death, he declared, would come "the realization of the vision of St. John of a new Heaven and a new earth—a realization of what the Carpenter of Nazareth taught by the sea of Galilee eighteen centuries ago, that 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.'" Browne professed belief in Christ and in the truth of the prophecy of His second coming. He declared that He meant that the Kingdom of Heaven would come or could come whenever the people willed it; and, as it was explained in one of the Commonweal bulletins, that "if the principles of Christianity were applied to affairs here on this earth, it would bring Heaven here as He wished it, 'on earth as it is done in Heaven,' and not as now applied, that believers must die, as by life insurance, to win it."

Another phase of Browne's belief was revealed in an interview with a newspaper correspondent to which he gave the proof of authenticity by reproducing it in one of his own bulletins. Said he: "Do you not see anything strange in the coming together of Brother Coxey and myself? I believe that a part of the soul of Christ happened to come into my being by reincarnation. I believe also that another part of Christ's soul is in Brother Coxey by the same process, and that is what has brought us together closer than two brothers. That prevents all jealousies between us; that strikes down all rivalries. That permits of each according to the other the full measure of credit due and the establishment of an equilibrium of justice between us and mankind that must prevail over all this land eventually, as this principle grows. I also

believe that the remainder of the soul of Christ has been fully reincarnated in the thousands of people throughout the United States to-day, and that accounts for the tremendous response to this call of ours to try and bring about peace and plenty to take the place of panic and poverty. To accomplish it means the second coming of Christ, and I believe in the prophecy that He is to come, not in any one single form, but in the whole people." At another point he explained: "Since all the chemical elements of the human being, as science proves, go back into their various reservoirs of nature, at the death of the person, and thus are



used over again in the birth of other persons, why may not the soul matter be used over again? This is on the line of reason and not superstition."

In accordance with this reincarnation idea, Browne styled Coxey the "cerebrum of Christ" and himself "the cerebellum of Christ." And it was doubtless something more than a fancy that he allowed his hair to grow and trimmed his beard so as to strengthen the resemblance between himself and his favorite picture of the Christ. He painted a banner with a picture of Christ as its central feature and the lettering, "Peace on Earth, Good Will toward men, But Death to Interest on Bonds." It was designed to be carried at the head of the marching men alongside the American flag. Coxey, himself, speaking of this banner, resented the suggestion that it was sacriligious. Said he (and

this also appears in one of the bulletins of the Commonweal): "He (Christ) was simply a great reformer. He went about, like Browne here, doing all the good He could; and as He preached against those who lived upon interest and profit, they, controlling the masses as they do now, compassed His death upon the cross." Believing that their movement was the fulfillment of the prophecy as to the second coming of Christ, Coxey and Browne fixed upon Easter Sunday, the day of the Resurrection celebration, for the beginning of their march to Washington.

"We firmly believe now (reads one of their proclamations) in view of the surrounding circumstances, that the time of the fulfillment of prophecy is near at hand, and that all those who go in this procession to Washington will be the humble instruments through which the second Babylon—the Money Power of Usury—is to fall, and that the second coming of Christ is now here; that His coming is not in the flesh of any one being, but reincarnated in the souls of all those who wish to establish a co-operative government through such legislation as this proposes, to take the place of the cut-throat competitive system that keeps alive the crucifixion—'for the crucifixion of Jesus is the spiritual correspondence of the crucifixion of the people' through usury. What emotions it must create in the breasts of all those who have intelligence and brotherly love to realize that we are really living in the era of a great cataclysm in human affairs; and how plain it must seem to them, as it does to us, when they look about them and think a moment, that 'the world (old custom) is coming to an end.'"

Turning from the religious sentiments which Coxey and Browne professed, it is interesting to note the character of the political reforms they sought. These proposed reforms were embodied in two bills—one to provide for the building of good roads, and the other to provide for the issue of non-interest-bearing bonds. The text of the first of these measures was as follows:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled:* That the secretary of the treasury of the United States is hereby authorized and instructed to have engraved and have printed, immediately after the passage of this bill, five hundred millions of dollars of treasury notes, a legal

tender for all debts, public and private, said notes to be in denominations of one, two, five and ten dollars, and to be placed in a fund to be known as 'The General County Road Fund System of the United States,' and to be expended wholly for said purpose.

"Section 2. And be it further enacted: That it shall be the duty of the secretary of war to take charge of the construction of said General County Road System, said construction to commence as soon as the secretary of the treasury shall inform the secretary of war that said fund is available, which shall not be later than ————————; when it shall be the duty of the secretary of war to inaugurate the work and spend the sum of twenty millions per month, pro rata with the number of miles of road in each state and territory in the United States.

"Section 3. Be it further enacted: That all labor other than that of the office of the secretary of war, whose compensations are already fixed by law, shall be paid by the day, and that the rate be not less than one dollar and fifty cents per day for common labor, and three dollars and fifty cents per day for team and labor, and that eight hours shall constitute a day's labor under the provisions of this bill."

The proposed law for the issue of non-interest-bearing bonds read as follows:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled:* That whenever any State, Territory, County, Township, Municipality or Incorporated Town or Village deems it necessary to make any public improvements, they (sic) shall deposit with the secretary of the treasury of the United States, a non-interest-bearing, twenty-five-year bond, not to exceed one-half the assessed valuation of the property in said State, Territory, County, Township, Municipality, Incorporated Town or Village, and said bond to be retired at the rate of four per cent. per annum.

"Section 2. Whenever the foregoing section of this act has been complied with, it shall be mandatory upon the secretary of the treasury of the United States to have engraved and printed treasury notes in the denomination of one, two, five, ten and twenty dollars each, which shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, to the face value of said bond, and de-

liver to said State, Territory, Township, Municipality, Incorporated Town or Village, ninety-nine per cent. of said notes and retain one per cent. for the expense of engraving and printing same."

It was to demand of Congress the enactment of these bills that the expedition, or "petition in boots," as it was called, was planned. Information of the character of the demand was spread broadcast, both by circular and by newspapers. "Now, hurry up," read one appeal. "The time is short; and, although the roads will be horrible, remember the condition of the soldiers under Washington in the snow at Valley Forge, struggling to win this fair land from an English tax on tea; and we, the degenerate sons of illustrious sires, have allowed English bond holders to get us more tightly in their grasp than George the Third had our forefathers. Rouse up! and demand congress to issue paper money based upon our own security. If paper money could fight battles and kill men in '61, it can build good roads and streets and public buildings and thus save men from starving to death in 1895. Rouse up, ye bondsmen, and protest against the yoke, at least!"

The plan of organization of the army, which it was hoped to set in motion that Easter day in 1894, was fully set forth in a circular as follows:

"As order is God's own law, it is also necessary for all intelligent action by His people. So the proposed procession will be composed of groups of men (citizens) numbering five (5) in each, one of whom must be selected to act as marshal—Group Marshal—to be numbered in the order of date of group formation. Groups may be federated into Companies or Communes of not less than thirty (30) men, nor more than one hundred and five (105). Communes may be federated into Regiments or Communities of not less than two hundred and fifteen (215) men nor more than ten hundred and fifty-five (1055). Communities may be federated into Cantons (Divisions) of two or more. All Communes, Cantons and Communities must select five (5) Marshals, to be numbered as first, second, and so on, the same as the Group Marshals shall be designated, thus: First Group Marshal, First Commune Marshal, First Canton Marshal, First Community Marshal. Badges of designation will be furnished free by Brother

Coxey, bearing appropriate design made by myself (Browne), upon sending certificate of organization, or when any group or organization joins the procession. All Labor Unions, Farmers' Alliances, or other organizations desiring to join may do so without reorganizing as above, and will be given right of line. It would be well for all companies or organizations to procure a wagon, if possible, to carry camp utensils and supplies for each, though several wagons will be taken from Massillon for the purpose."

The organizers of this project were not seeking to increase their own troubles, and so they tempered their appeal with the hope that no one in ill health would join the Commonweal. They also made it plain that they wanted no vicious characters. "We want," said one of the bulletins, "no thieves or anarchists—boodlers and bankers—to join us. We want patriots, not bummers. No firearms, but manhood. * * * Having faith in the rectitude of our intentions, and believing that we are acting from inspiration from on high, we believe that the liberty-loving people comprising this indivisible and undividable American Union will respond in such numbers to the call of duty that no "Hessian" Pinkerton thugs, much less State militia or United States troops, can be hired for gold to fire upon such a myriad of human beings, unarmed and defenseless, assembling under the ægis of the Constitution, upon the steps of the national capitol, to assert their prerogative, shielded as they would be by right and justice, and guided by Him in the interest of good and higher government; and thus will take place that battle long foretold, for it will be as noble Lester Hubbard once wrote: 'That plain of Armageddon, dimly seen by ancient seer, when the brute nature and immortal soul of man close in final contest, which shall herald the dawning of the era of love and tenderness, when nations shall know the fatherhood of God and live the brotherhood of man. This was the prayer of Him on Calvary's cross, and at last it shall come true, for the everlasting God hath so ordained it.'"

The moving spirit behind all this was Carl Browne. He made the plans, wrote the proclamations and bulletins, devised the organization, painted the banners, designed the badges and conducted the correspondence. He was secretary of the J. S.

Coxey Good Roads Association and Marshal of the Commonweal Army. Mr. Coxey occupied the dignified position of President of the Association and supplied the money for the propaganda and the preparations. That he approved all the work and all the doctrine preached in his name by Browne, is not to be doubted, for no protest was heard from him and he played with evident satisfaction the role of presiding genius that was assigned to him by his more active associate.

Easter Sunday, the day on which the Commonweal Army was to move, fell on March 25. As the day approached interest

J. S. COXEY, ESQ.,
President of The J. S. Coxey Good Roads Association of the United States.

CARL BROWNE,
Secretary of The J. S. Coxey Good Roads Association of the United States.

in the outcome deepened. The weather was damp and chilly and generally forbidding. Certainly the zeal of the recruit was to be put to the test. The evening of Good Friday came, but there were in Massillon few signs of the mighty crusade advertised to begin on the following Sunday. Inquiries at the hotels disclosed the presence in town of a dozen correspondents representing papers in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, and other cities, but the clerks, usually omniscient, knew of no gathered or gathering army. Coxey and Browne were at the home of the former, a few miles

outside of town; a camping ground had been selected, but a trip to it disclosed no tent or other sign of the coming army. The morning of Saturday dawned gloomy and disagreeable. There was a damp and searching chilliness in the atmosphere that made a closely buttoned overcoat comfortable. The search for the army was renewed at the camping ground, at the city prison, where it was thought possible some of the recruits had taken refuge, and elsewhere. The search was not wholly fruitless, although nearly so. At the camping ground, one recruit was found, and, in an unfinished building, the room in which two others had passed the night. The number of correspondents had, however, perceptibly increased, and as these news-gatherers eagerly sought the missing army, they encountered one another, and, in their mutual disappointment, when their identity had been satisfactorily established, formed partnerships for the further pursuit of the much-advertised Coxeyites.

It was a few minutes after nine o'clock when the door of the hotel lobby was opened and a strange looking man entered. He stopped a moment to shout some instructions to the colored driver of the buggy from which he had alighted, and then strode like a conquering hero through the crowd of correspondents and others who cleared the way for his passage. "That's Carl Browne," the youth at the cigar stand whispered, and those who heard looked more intently at the stranger, who was now at the desk in conversation with the clerk. Browne was a tall, well-built man, with grizzled hair and a garb very suggestive of the wild west. His hat was a broad-brimmed slouch, and his outer garment a fur coat reaching to his ankles. Beneath this he wore a short leathern coat buttoned with silver half dollars, on which was stamped the word, "Free." He wore heavy boots, into the tops of which his pantaloons were thrust, and his whole make-up was eccentric.

Browne had come in with the morning mail of the Commonweal, and gathering the correspondents, who now numbered a score, about him, he read the letters aloud. Most of the communications promised contributions of money and provisions, or told of the coming of many recruits. "We shall start tomorrow," said Browne, "with 5,000 men, and before we have gone 100 miles

we shall have an army of 10,000." Questions as to the whereabouts of Coxey were met with the statement that he was somewhere in town attending to some final preparations. He was quickly found, but he was not easily identified as the leader of the movement that bore his name. He looked too much like an ordinary business man to be picked out as the associate of the picturesque Browne. He was of medium height and weight. His rather low, broad brow was surmounted by dark hair without a trace of gray. He looked mildly, though steadily, through gold-rimmed spectacles. The only hair on his face was a short, bristling mustache. He was plainly, but neatly dressed. He did not court attention and, while in conversation, he was not effusive. He was evidently satisfied with what had thus far been done and sanguine of the future.

The day brought a number of recruits for the Commonweal Army, among whom were the agent of a struggling reform publication, a silk-tiled man with a book to sell, an Indian who wore moccasins and carried a tomahawk and boasted that he had fought with Louis Riel in the then recent Canadian uprising. These stopped at the hotels. There were other recruits of less marked individuality, who went direct to the camping ground. A tent was put up and the ground beneath it was strewn with hay. A covered commissary wagon, drawn by two powerful farm horses, came over the hill and was halted at the camp. Browne's panorama, used to illustrate his lectures, was given a commanding position at the entrance to the grounds. Canvas was stretched and Brown, with brush and paint pot, set about making banners to be carried in the procession. As he lettered the canvas or drew upon it cartoons of monopoly and its victims, he talked to the curious throng. How many of the throng were residents and how many were of the army, it was for a time difficult to tell, but the problem ultimately solved itself, for all who had homes were driven to them by the cutting wind. There remained possibly 50 men who could be classed as soldiers in the Commonweal Army. What sort of men were they? They were unfortunate men, many of them without a better shelter than the Commonweal tent, or a better meal than the tea and crackers that were served there to all who would join the "army." There were

among them, doubtless, honest men who believed so far as they could understand it, the doctrine that Covey and Browne preached, but there were certainly others whose presence was to be explained on the ground of curiosity and a lack of anything better to do. If any of them were vicious law breakers, the fact did not develop, either at Massillon or at any point along the road.

The little "army" was organized into groups, according to the plan already explained; pickets were thrown out, and fires were built, both to warm the shivering men and to prepare the first meal in camp. This meal consisted of hot tea and crackers, and was served to the groups as they marched up one at a time. After this repast came an evening meeting, largely attended by the curious of Massillon. Browne was the speaker and a wagon was his rostrum. His talk, which was a reiteration of his proclamations and bulletins, embellished with stories and illustrated with some of his cartoons, was entertaining, and he held the audience long in the cold. One by one, however, the townspeople, chilled to the bone, went their way homeward, the effort at proselyting was ended, and the army was put to bed in its straw.

Easter morning was cold and gloomy, like its predecessor. But it brought new recruits to the army, which, at 12:30 p m., set out on its march to Washington, just 125 strong. First came Carl Browne, riding a large iron-gray horse; then Coxey, riding in a buggy drawn by two horses, which were driven by a colored man; the panorama wagon; the marshal's aides on horse-back, and then, two by two, the privates of the Commonweal Army, while two canvas-top commissary wagons brought up the rear. The banners borne in the procession were curiosities of lettering, if not of sentiment. They were the handiwork of Browne. Here are some of the sentiments expressed: "Coxey, the Cerebrum of the Commonweal of Christ," "Browne, the Cerebellum of the Commonweal of Christ," "Peace Upon Earth and Good Will Toward Men, but Death to Interest on Bonds," "The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand," Lazarus Proffers Dives a Cup of Cold Water. Soon the Great Gulf Shall Divide Them," "God is Not the God of the Dead, but of the Living. The 32d Verse

of the 22d Chapter of Matthew Proves Jesus Christ a Theosophist, for Resurrection Means Simply Reincarnation, from Death Here to Living Here Again," "The Farmer Leads, for he Feeds," "Workingmen Want Work, Not Charity," "Equal Rights to All, Special Privileges to None," "The Supreme Court of the United States Has Upheld the Constitutionality of Our Demand."

Not less than thirty special correspondents, sent to Massillon from remote cities, to tell the news of the reform movement, stood upon the sidewalks and watched this small company pass. Then they took carriages to the interurban railway car and followed the "army" to Canton. Curiosity marked its reception there. There was no enthusiasm in the "army" or out of it. The march was directly through the city to the suburbs, where the tents were put up and the "army" was fed and again put to bed. The attitude of the people of Canton was characterized in some cases by sympathy and in others by fear, and the "army" profited in being well treated and hurried onward. The experience there was duplicated at nearly every stopping place. Everywhere there was curiosity, and at many points recruits were gained. At Homestead the "army" numbered 600, but it dwindled in the march across the mountains in the snow to 140, gaining again in the more easily traveled districts, and aggregating 500 when it marched into Washington May 1. During the march there were some slight troubles, but there was no turbulence and no depredations of consequence. If the commissary supplies ran short, the men were supplied with provisions by those who sympathized with them, or those who feared them. So far as the preservation of the peace was concerned, the promises of Coxey and Browne were satisfactorily fulfilled.

The passage of the mountains was the hardest ordeal of all, and the 140 faithful ones were complimented by Browne. "Your names," said he to them in a speech, "will be emblazoned on the scroll of fame. As Henry V. said to his men after the battle of Agincourt, your names will be as familiar as household words."

To each man who made the march a card of merit was issued like the following:

"The Commonweal of Christ: This certifies that John Souther, of Group 3, Commune 1, Chicago Community of the

Commonweal of Christ, is entitled to this Souvenir for heroic conduct in crossing the Cumberland mountains in the fact of snow and ice, and despite police persecution and dissension-breeders."

Arrived in Washington, the "army" went into camp and prepared for the great march down Pennsylvania avenue and the proposed meeting in the capitol grounds. It had been predicted that the parade on Pennsylvania avenue would not be allowed, but police permission was given and the leaders were encouraged to hope that the meeting would also be permitted. It was known that meetings there were prohibited by special act of congress,

COXEY AND BROWNE AT WORK ON THE CANALBOAT BENJAMIN VAUGHAN—MARSHAL BALL IN THE RIGHT FOREGROUND.

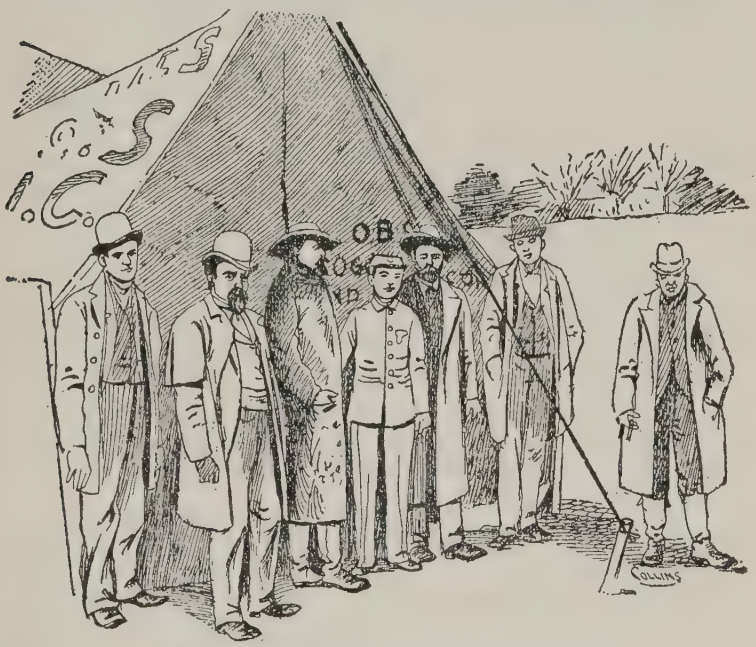
but, as Coxey and Browne held that any such act in abridgment of popular rights was unconstiutional, they were not concerned about the prospective violation of law. They probably believed that the police authorities, as the easiest way out of a dilemma, would ignore the whole procedure. The purpose of the Coxeyites to hold this meeting in the very shadow of the capitol building was widely advertised and thousands of curious people crowded into the streets and about the buildings at the time appointed. It was a critical hour for the "army;" it was for this demonstration that it had marched hundreds of weary miles, and

the success or failure of the movement was soon to be written. The army moved with all the trappings and in much the same order as at Massillon. It was an array of wagons and banners and humanity such as Washington had never before seen, and such as the more thoughtful must have hoped never to see again. All went well till the capitol grounds were reached. The attempt to enter for the purpose of holding a meeting brought the police into activity, but the throng of sight-seers made the execution of orders difficult. Apprehending trouble, Coxey hastened up the steps of the capitol and was about to begin his speech when he was accosted by an officer and told that he could not speak there. Yielding to this prohibition, Coxey asked to be allowed to read a protest, a copy of which he drew from his pocket. But in that, too, he was interrupted, and he contented himself with handing the manuscript to a bystander and asking that it be turned over to the press. It read as follows:

"The Constitution of the United States guarantees to all citizens the right to peacefully assemble and petition for the redress of grievances, and furthermore declares that the right of free speech shall not be abridged. We stand here today to test these guarantees of our Constitution. We chose this place of assembly because it is the property of the people; and if it be true that the right of the people to peacefully assemble upon their own premises and with their petitions has been abridged by the passage of laws in direct violation of the Constitution, we are here to draw the eyes of the nation to the shameful fact.

"Here, rather than at any spot upon the continent, it is fitting that we should come to mourn over our dead liberties and by our protest arouse the imperilled nation to such action as shall rescue the Constitution and resurrect our liberties. Upon these steps where we stand has been spread a carpet for the royal feet of a foreign princess, the cost of whose lavish entertainment was taken from the public treasury without the consent or the approval of the people. Up these steps the lobbyists of trusts and corporations have passed unchallenged on their way to committee rooms to which we, the representatives of the toiling wealth-producers, have been denied admission.

"We stand here today in behalf of millions of toilers whose petitions have been buried in committee rooms, whose prayers have been unresponded to, and whose opportunities for honest, remunerative and productive labor have been taken from them by unjust legislation which protects idlers, speculators and gamblers. We come to remind Congress, here assembled, of the declaration of a United States Senator, that 'for a quarter of a century the rich have been growing richer and the poor poorer,



CAMP HEADQUARTERS AND COXEY'S STAFF.

and that by the close of the present century the middle class will have disappeared and the struggle for existence become fierce and relentless.'

"We stand here to remind Congress of its promise of returning prosperity should the Sherman act be repealed. We stand here to declare by our march of over 500 miles, through difficulties and distress—a march unstained by even the slightest act which will bring the blush of shame to any—that we are law-abiding citizens, and as such our actions speak louder than words. We

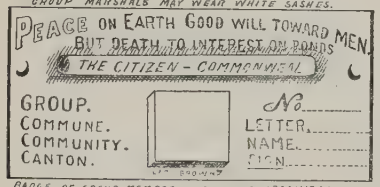
are here to petition for legislation which will furnish employment for every man able and willing to work—for legislation which will bring universal prosperity and emancipate our beloved country from financial bondage to the descendants of King George.

"We have come to the only source which is competent to aid the people in their day of dire distress. We are here to tell our representatives, who hold their seats by the grace of our ballots, that the struggle for existence has become too fierce and relentless. We come and throw up our defenseless hands and say, 'Help, or we and our loved ones must perish.' We are engaged in a bitter and cruel war with the enemies of mankind; a war with hunger, wretchedness and despair, and we ask Congress to heed our petitions and issue for the nation's good a sufficient volume of the same kind of money which carried this country through one awful war and saved the life of the nation. In the name of justice, through whose impartial administration only the present civilization can be maintained and perpetuated, by the powers of the Constitution of our country, upon which the liberties of the people must depend, and in the name of the Commonweal of Christ, whose representatives we are, we enter the most solemn and earnest protest against this unnecessary and cruel act of usurpation and tyranny, and this enforced subjugation to the rights and privileges of American citizenship.

"We have assembled here, in violation of no just law, to enjoy the privilege of every American citizen. We are under the shadow of the capitol of this great nation, and, in the presence of our national legislators, are refused that dearly-bought privilege, and by the force of arbitrary powers, prevented from carrying out the desire of our hearts, which is plainly granted under the great magna charta of our national liberties.

"We have come here through toil and weary marches, through storms and tempest, over mountains and amid the trials of poverty and distress, to lay our grievances at the door of our national legislators, and ask them in the name of Him whose banner we bear, in the name of Him who pleads for the poor and the oppressed, that they should heed the voice of despair and distress that is now coming up from every section of our country; that they

GROUP MARSHALS MAY WEAR WHITE SASHES.



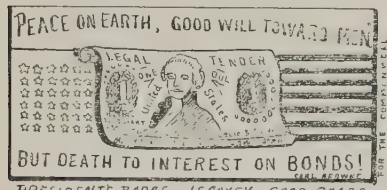
BADGE OF GROUP MEMBER AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

COMMUNE MARSHALS MAY WEAR RED SASHES.

COMMUNE MARSHALS BADGES ALL ALIKE EXCEPT NUMBER

SURGEON MARSHALS MAY WEAR GREEN SASHES.

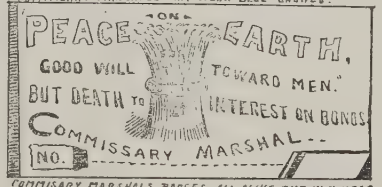
SURGEON MARSHALS BADGES ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER



PRESIDENTS BADGE - J.S.COXEY GOOD ROADS — ASSOCIATION OF U.S. —

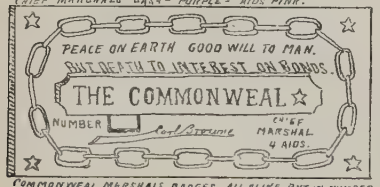
ALL HONORARY BADGES ARE ALIKE EXCEPT IN NUMBER.

COMMISSARY MARSHALS MAY WEAR BLUE SASHES.



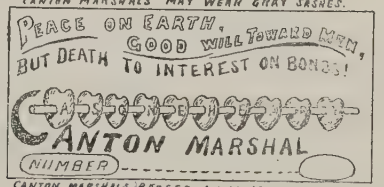
COMMISSARY MARSHALS BADGES ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER.

CHIEF MARSHALS SASH - PURPLE - AIDS PINK.



COMMONWEAL MARSHALS BADGES. ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER

CANTON MARSHALS MAY WEAR GRAY SASHES.



CANTON MARSHALS-BADGES ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER.

COMMUNITY MARSHALS MAY WEAR YELLOW SASHES.

BADGE OF THE COMMUNITY MARSHAL ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER.

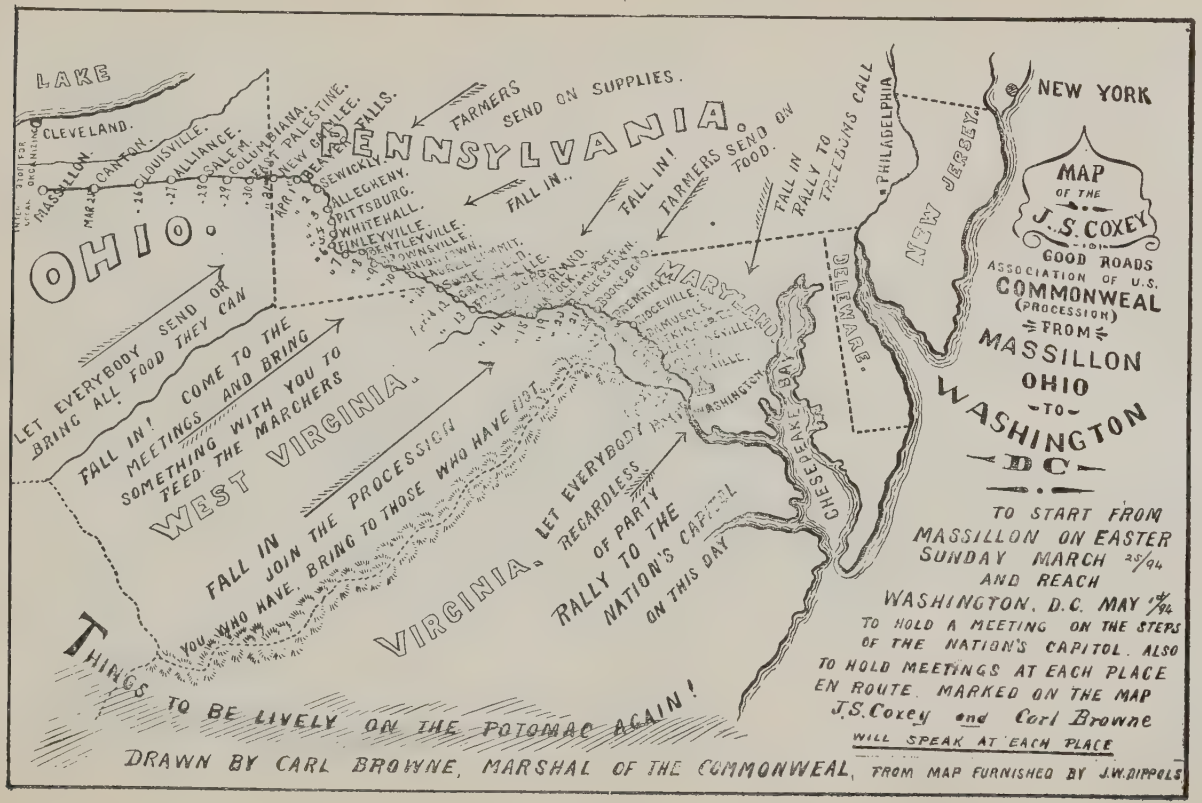
should consider the condition of the starving unemployed of our land and enact such laws as will give employment, bring happier conditions to the people, and the smile of contentment to our citizens.

"Coming, as we do, with peace and good will to men, we shall have to submit to these laws, unjust as they are, and obey this mandate of authority of might which overrides and outrages the law of right. In doing so, we appeal to every peace-loving citizen, every liberty-loving man or woman, every one in whose breast the fires of patriotism and love of country have not died out, to assist us in our efforts toward better laws and general benefits. J. S. COXEY,

"Commander of the Commonweal of Christ."

The police officers arrested as the leaders in this violation of law Coxey, Browne and Christopher Columbus Jones. The three were tried and convicted, and, on May 21, sentenced each to twenty days imprisonment and $5 fine. At the expiration of the term, the "army," or a considerable portion of it, was still in camp, but it was ready for dissolution and the people of Washington were more than ready to have it dissolve. Order had been reasonably maintained, but the people of Washington, particularly the suburbs, could not rid themselves of the idea that the presence of so many unemployed men was a menace. The demonstration had caused only a flurry in Congress. A few Populist members had taken the matter seriously and had undertaken to induce Congress to do something, but it was vain, and the only action taken was that appropriating money to pay the expenses of protecting from the "armies" the railroad property that was then under United States charge. The mission of the Coxeyites at Washington, so far as it could be, was accomplished, and they gradually disappeared from the scene. At the time of the arrests in Washington, Frye and Randall were in Indiana and some others were en route. The issue was disappointing to them, and the last stage of the journey to the capital was by many of them never made.

No one can scan the daily papers of that period without realizing now, if he did not then, how serious were the industrial


LAKE
CLEVELAND.
MASSILLON
CANTON.
LOUISVILLE.
ALLIANCE.
SALEM.
COLUMBIANA.
EAST PALESTINE.
NEW CASTLE.
BEAVER FALLS.
ROSEWICKLY.
ALLEGHENY.
PITTSBURG.
WHITEHALL.
FINLEYVILLE.
CENTERVILLE.
TOWNSVILLE.
OHIO.
PENNSYLVANIA.
FARMERS SEND ON SUPPLIES.
FALL IN..
FALL IN!
FARMERS SEND ON FOOD.
FALL IN RALLY TO TREASONS CALL
PHILADELPHIA
NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK
MAP OF THE J.S.COXEY GOOD ROADS ASSOCIATION OF U.S. COMMONWEAL (PROCESSION) FROM MASSILLON OHIO -TO- WASHINGTON D.C.
TO START FROM MASSILLON ON EASTER SUNDAY MARCH 25/94 AND REACH WASHINGTON, D.C. MAY 1st/94 TO HOLD A MEETING ON THE STEPS OF THE NATION'S CAPITOL. ALSO TO HOLD MEETINGS AT EACH PLACE EN ROUTE. MARKED ON THE MAP J.S.Coxey and Carl Browne WILL SPEAK AT EACH PLACE
LET EVERYBODY SEND OR BRING ALL FOOD THEY CAN
FALL IN! COME TO THE MEETINGS AND BRING SOMETHING WITH YOU TO FEED THE MARCHERS
WEST VIRGINIA.
FALL IN JOIN THE PROCESSION YOU WHO HAVE, BRING TO THOSE WHO HAVE NOT.
MARYLAND
WASHINGTON
CHESAPEAKE BAY
DELEWARE.
VIRGINIA. LET EVERYBODY REGARDLESS OF PARTY RALLY TO THE NATION'S CAPITOL ON THIS DAY
THINGS TO BE LIVELY ON THE POTOMAC AGAIN!
DRAWN BY CARL BROWNE, MARSHAL OF THE COMMONWEAL, FROM MAP FURNISHED BY J.W.DIPPOLS.

conditions. Strikes were numerous and rioting frequent. Discontent was widespread, and that the Coxey movement thrived no better and ended without a great explosion of wrath is almost miraculous. The issue can be attributed only to the good sense of the American people and their ready discrimination between the good and the spurious remedies for national ills. It required no long course of reasoning for the American mind to comprehend that the project of a "petition in boots" to Washington to ask for relief legislation was a monarchical, rather than a democratic, need. Congress was no king or emperor to whom an appeal had thus to be made in person after a long and trying march to Washington; it was instead, a body representative of the people, and moved powerfully by their desires expressed at their homes. The petitioners, therefore, though they affected to demand, really put themselves in the attitude of mediæval supplicants for favor. Their course was ridiculous and un-American. Those in comfort laughed at the project; those in distress, while they felt that conditions were wrong, repudiated this method of righting them. Between ridicule and repudiation, Coxeyism ran its brief course and was spent—not, however, as it may appear to some, without leaving its impress upon the politics of the country.

CONSUL WILSHIRE BUTTERFIELD—HISTORIAN.

BY W. H. HUNTER.

Consul Wilshire Butterfield, the famous Historian, was born near the village of Colosse, Oswego County, New York, July 28, 1824. He was of Knickerbocker stock, his father's peo-

ple coming to America in 1634. His parents, Amroy Butterfield and Mary Lamb Butterfield, immigrated from Brattleboro, Vermont, to the State of New York.

Consul Wilshire Butterfield died at his home in South Omaha, Nebraska, on Monday, September 25, 1899. At noon Mr. Butterfield appeared to be in usual exuberant spirits and was apparently in good health. Shortly after two o'clock he decided to visit his near neighbor, Mr. O'Connor, and while he was ascending the steps to the O'Connor residence was stricken with a sinking spell, from which he never rallied. When it was known that Mr. Butterfield was seriously ill, neighbors conveyed

him to his home and summoned a physician, who pronounced life extinct on his arrival.

Ripe in years he passed to his reward; and thus ended the earthly career of a man whose achievements marked him as a genius and his memory will be cherished as long as letters are a factor of progress. When he died a noble spirit took its "earthless flight"; a lovable husband was taken from a happy home; a kind father was separated from a daughter who cherished every fiber of his being.

Mr. Butterfield lived a long and busy life. He was even at work when came the summons that called his spirit hence.

While Mr. Butterfield stood alone as writer of American history that has relation to the American Indian and the Pioneer, he was the most modest of men. He never sought renown. He loved his fellows, and his work was his pleasure. In a letter to the writer he said his whole ambition was to record the truth to this end his life was consecrated, and his many historical works, all recognized as authorities and to which all other writers must go for information, attest the sincerity of his statement.

While not so graphic in style as Parkman, he was always accurate. He never printed as a fact in history any incident or statement until he had examined every authority to ascertain the truth. His style was direct; he never employed a superfluous word and his work was always comprehensive.

A profound historical scholar, an indefatigable worker, he left as his monument numerous books invaluable to the student and the reader. Mr. Butterfield was a genius; he never worked for money. The word money seldom came to his mind; his achievement was not the accumulation of wealth. His masterful efforts directed along other lines of human endeavor would have procured a fortune, as the world understands fortune. But he wrote history as a patriot performs a service for his country, without pay, as the world understands pay. He devoted his life to work that few men could perform. Working night and day, he accomplished much, and the world of letters is richer because he lived. He was one of those sweet souls whose devotion to patriotic duty was a sacrifice of pleasure, as the world

knows pleasure. He never made money, for his works were not of the popular-novel character demanded by the mass of those who read history. Indeed it took much of his time to correct the errors set forth by men who wrote history for the money results.

Writers of Butterfield's bent and attainments are so rare that, when discovered, the state should possess their talents and thus give the people the benefit of all their time, for it is too valuable to be given up to bread-winning; and men who write history, as Mr. Butterfield wrote history, cannot make money selling books.

The production of one of his works is an achievement greater than coining wealth; while thousands can coin money, only one could do the work Butterfield did. But Butterfield never received the one-thousandth part of the wealth that other men receive for like expenditure of nerve-force in other lines of labor. While rich men spend millions to establish libraries which reduce the sale of books such as he wrote, there are men writing books at their own expense, we might say, to fill the shelves of these libraries, who scarcely afford a roof they can call their own. There should be equity in philanthropy: It is easier for an iron king to put up library buildings than it is for men like Butterfield to fill their shelves.

Mr. Butterfield was admired not only for his great ability manifest in his literary achievements, but for his generous, kindly spirit and his sincerity as a friend. His was an unselfish life; his time was given for the benefit of others. It was always a pleasure to him to aid the student of history, and in response to a mere suggestion he wrote a chapter on Fort Laurens for the Pathfinders of Jefferson County, although at the time he was ill and was engaged on important work of his own; and this chapter was the labor of several days. He loved his friends of whom he must have had many, for no one of his great ability and kindly nature could pass in and out among the activities of life without gaining the appreciation of his fellowmen. He always spoke kindly of friends. The writer of this cherishes more than all else the kind words written of him to a mutual friend, and ever will be green the writer's memory of this man who is at rest.

Mr. Butterfield was always particularly fond of music and poetry, of children and of all kinds of pets. He considered Shakspere the one great genius, but the poets he studied and most admired were Milton, and our own Bryant. In a letter to the writer after his death, Alice Butterfield said of her father: "Though not a church member, his faith in the immortality of the soul was strong, as evidenced by a great many little things easy to perceive, but hard to write about."

His home-life was quiet and uneventful. He loved his family, and his wife and daughter were devoted to him, and all were happy in their little circle.

Order was the keynote of his method of labor. He did not await the moving influence of the spirit, but wrote regularly a certain length of time, (preferably the morning hours) each day, much as any one would go about a business enterprise. At times, though, when becoming much engrossed in his subject he would keep right on until compelled to quit from sheer exhaustion.

Mr. Butterfield's writing was always done at his home. His desk was in the sitting-room, and he was not easily disturbed. His daughter, in answer to inquiry, wrote: "As to how father would come to select a certain subject upon which to write a book, I do not know; but imagine he would become interested in a particular historical character or event from general reading and then if he considered it inadequately represented he would determine to elaborate upon the subject himself."

A correspondent writing to Mr. Butterfield, expressed surprise that any one living in South Omaha, in far away Nebraska, could write a book showing so much research as Brulé; but accepted it as a possibility if Mr. Butterfield had an extensive private library. Mr. Butterfield, in speaking of this, quoted "extensive private library" as a jest; for it is a fact, fifty to one hundred books would be the size of his library at any one time, though he was constantly changing it and a large number of books passed through his hands. In speaking of this incident Miss Butterfield said: "I remember having remarked at the time that there was not so much in having a lot of information at one's elbow as there was in knowing how to get what one

wanted, and father responded, 'That's just it exactly;' and it seems to me that to this ability to get the information he wanted his merit as a historian is largely due." Mrs. Butterfield was his proof-reader, she being a person of literary attainments.

In 1834 Mr. Butterfield's father's family removed from New York to Melmore, Seneca County, Ohio. At the age of eighteen Butterfield commenced teaching a district school in Omar, Chautauqua County, N. Y. He afterward attended the Normal School in Albany for two terms, but his health failing, he left the school to take a trip to Europe. He returned in 1846 coming to Seneca County, Ohio, where his parents had located in 1834.

The next year he wrote a history of Seneca County which was published in 1848. In 1847 he was elected Superintendent of the Seneca County schools. Early in 1849 he resigned this position to make an overland trip to California. The next year he was an independent candidate in that state for Superintendent of Public Instruction, but was defeated by a few votes. He returned to Ohio in 1851 and finished a course in law which he had commenced in San Francisco, and in 1855 he entered upon the practice of his profession in Bucyrus, Crawford County, relinquishing it in 1875.

In 1854 he served as Secretary of the Ohio and Indiana Railroad Company, and while engaged in this occupation found time to write "A Comprehensive System of Grammatical and Rhetorical Punctuation," which was printed, but afterward suppressed. An abridgement of the book was published in 1878, this publication becoming a very popular work and was introduced into many schools.

After quitting the practice of law he devoted his time to literary pursuits, having, however, previously written "An Historical Account of the Expedition Against Sandusky, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782." This book written in Bucyrus, Ohio, was issued from the press of Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati. The work gave the story of one of the most thrilling expeditions of the Revolutionary War, the death of Col. Crawford at the stake being perhaps the most tragic of all the narratives of border warfare during the struggle for American Inde-

pendence. The story is told in Mr. Butterfield's direct style and is so thrilling of itself that the incidents need no elaboration to interest the reader.

In 1875 he wrote, at Madison, Wis., where he had moved in that year, a work jointly with Lyman C. Draper, a gentleman who had gathered many manuscripts and information of pioneer history, which he afterward presented to the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, on "Border Forays, Conflicts and Incidents;" but this book was never printed on account of some disagreement between the two authors; and the evidence as to this does not lay the least blame upon Mr. Butterfield. In the Spring of 1877 was published "The Washington-Crawford Letters" edited by Mr. Butterfield, and issued from the press of Robert Clarke & Co., which is invaluable to the historical writer, for it contains information not to be found elsewhere, and like all of Butterfield's works must be read to find authority for many historical statements of fact. In it is given an idea of Washington's interest in the West and the immense tracts of land he secured for his military services as a Virginia officer during the French and Indian wars.

In the fall of 1875 Mr. Butterfield completed for an "Historical Atlas of Wisconsin," (which was published the next year) a "History of Wisconsin," assisting also in the preparation of the county histories and biographical sketches found in that atlas.

The "History of the University of Wisconsin" was written by him and published in 1879. His next work was one of the most important of all his books, being "Discovery of the Northwest in 1634 by John Nicolet" which also contained a sketch of Nicolet's life. This is a remarkable book, but Mr. Butterfield, after his work on Brulé was published, insisted that the latter should be read first by the student of the French discoveries in America. The production of Nicolet gave evidence of Butterfield's complete knowledge of French, of his painstaking and wide research as well as his marked literary ability. It is a record of the indomitable perseverance and heroic bravery of John Nicolet in an exploration which resulted in his being the first of civilized men to set foot upon any portion of the Northwest, which is to say, any part of the territory now constituting

the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. It is also shown how he brought to the knowledge of the world the existence of a fresh-water sea—Lake Michigan. It was always Mr. Butterfield's intention to rewrite this very remarkable work and make it more popular by eliminating the many French passages which were introduced for the purpose of adding to its interest by employing the language of the early French writers and explorers, but this he never found time to accomplish.

In 1882 he edited and published the "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," the work to which all historians must go for authority on the West in the Revolution. This work was published through the generosity of George Plumer Smith of Philadelphia who not only subscribed for numerous copies before it was printed, but furnished the maps in the book. This work, as its title indicates, consists of the official letters which passed between Washington and Brig.-Gen. Wm. Irvine, and between Irvine and others concerning military affairs in the West from 1781 to 1783; these letters being arranged and annotated with an introduction containing an outline of events occurring previously in the Trans-Allegheny country. No other work has ever been published containing so much information of value to the student of Western history, and today no American library is considered complete without it. In speaking of Mr. Smith's part in the publication of this book, Mr. Butterfield wrote the writer of this in June, 1898, the writer having conveyed to him information of Mr. Smith's death: "I was pained to hear that George Plumer Smith was no more. I saw him last in Omaha some three or four years ago. He and I corresponded for a long time. But for him, the 'Washington-Irvine Correspondence, would, probably, not have been published. He subscribed for fifty copies and afterward purchased as many more, always insisting on paying for each copy, catalogue price. He also paid for the map which you will notice in the book. I return you the letters written by him. How familiar is his handwriting to our whole household!" The "Washington-Irvine Correspondence" was revised by Mr. Butterfield and after his death the MS. was sent to the Chicago Historical Society Library in accordance with his desire.

In 1883 he edited a "Short Biography of John Leeth," followed by the "Journal of Capt. Jonathan Heart," published in 1885; this work being an account of the march to the West of the first troops under the government of the New Republic.

Meanwhile he wrote with Frank A. Flower a series of biographical sketches entitled "The Giants of the West;" but the book was never given to the public.

While residing in Wisconsin he wrote, in chief, histories of the Counties of Rock, Fond-du-Lac, Columbia, Dane, Vernon, Crawford and Greene of that state. For the last three mentioned he furnished a "General History of Wisconsin," which was published as an introduction to those works; his previous "History of Wisconsin," published in the "Historical Atlas" already mentioned, appearing as introductory to all the other Wisconsin County Histories.

He was on the editorial staff of the "Northwest Review" for March and April, 1883, assistant editor of "Descriptive America" from December 1884, to February, 1885, inclusive; and on the first day of January, 1886, he began editorial work on the "Magazine of Western History," afterward writing a large number of special articles for that magazine, principally historical and biographical. He severed his connection with that periodical in 1889.

Having removed to South Omaha, Nebraska, in 1888, he there finished the "History of the Girtys," for which he had gathered much material while a resident of Wisconsin. This work was published by Robert Clarke & Co. in 1891, and is, perhaps, the most important of Mr. Butterfield's later works. It contains a vast amount of information as to the border warfare of the Trans-Allegheny country with the three Girtys—Simon, James and George—as the central figures. The work, as Mr. Butterfield has written to the writer of this and as well has printed in the preface of the book, was undertaken because of the notoriety they had obtained, and likewise because there was an apparent necessity for our Western annals to be freed, as near as possible, from error, everywhere permeating as to the part actually taken by these brothers—particularly Simon—in many of the important events which make up the history of the region

immediately west of the Alleghenies. It had become the rule to give Simon Girty all the odium that came of diabolism practiced by American renegades employed by the British for this purpose, and while Mr. Butterfield does not relieve Simon of his proper place, he shows that he was not always responsible—not even always present, when atrocious acts credited to him by most of the writers of romance called history, were committed. In this work, as in all of his productions, Mr. Butterfield kept constantly in mind one object paramount to all others—the statement of facts, as he understood them, and the truth was reached after research that encompassed everything bearing on the subject. The reader must be impressed with the large number of documents and authorities quoted in the History of the Girtys; in fact nothing seems to be omitted that would aid in clearing up many of the mysteries of the border conflicts during and after the Revolutionary War which opened in the West in 1774 and continued until Wayne's Victory at Fallen Timbers twenty years after. He takes up matters published as fact by other writers and in a few words shows them to be only romance without foundation in history. He particularly takes Theodore Roosevelt to task for printing in his "Winning of the West" stories absolutely absurd, as history, when he might have printed truth. In this work some attention is given to the whole Girty family, the father, mother, and Simon's brothers, including Thomas, and a half-brother, John Turner, in whom interest is awakened because of the bearing their lives had upon the most notorious of their relatives. In all; the student of Trans-Allegheny history is lacking in information if he has not used the History of the Girtys as a text book. In it will be found all of interest in the Western country previous to, during and after the Revolutionary War. After reading this work one must be impressed with the fact that history is filled with statements made without truth as a basis. This work was revised before Mr. Butterfield's death, and the MS. complete throughout, when examined by his daughter was found to contain on the title page a note giving the manuscript to the Western Reserve Historical Society, to be held by it until the copyright of the first edition shall have expired, and then to be the absolute

property of the Society. This MS. is now in the Western Reserve Library at Cleveland.

Brulé has already been mentioned in this sketch. This was the last work of Mr. Butterfield, published. The manuscript was presented to the Western Reserve Historical Society in 1897 and published by this Society the following year. Brulé is a narrative of the discovery by Stephen Brulé of Lakes Huron, Ontario and Superior, and of his explorations, the first by civilized man, of Pennsylvania, and Western New York, and of the Province of Ontario, Canada. It is a most thrilling story and it reads like a novel. In the preface the author truthfully says, "Few, if any, of the early events properly belonging to the pages of American history are of more interest and importance after the discovery of the New World, than are those relating to the journeyings of Stephen Brulé." The achievements of this daring Frenchman (Norman) in the northern part of this country and the southern part of Canada, have not heretofore been given in detail, and it was well that the story remained for Butterfield to tell, for he has left no leaf unturned and no musty document unexamined that gave information on the exploits of Champlain's first interpreter, who came to America a mere boy to live among the Indians with the view of learning their language. He came to America at a very early period—he had discovered Lake Huron before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. All his work is followed closely and detailed in attractive historic style up to the hour Brulé was killed and eaten by the Hurons. Brulé is the most important work of recent years, and must attract the mind of the pupil who would know the early history of his country. There are copious notes and an extended appendix, all of the greatest value. Butterfield himself, as did his intimate friends, considered Brulé his best effort from a literary point of view, and the letters written to him in regard to this work and the reviews of it in the papers gave him great pleasure. He was so grateful for kindly mention of his work that he frequently expressed his thanks, and this was the key to his whole life, ever considerate, ever generous.

In 1892 and 1893 he wrote a "History of South Omaha" which was printed in the last-named year as an annex to a

"History of Omaha." Nearly all the biographical sketches appearing in the Omaha history were prepared by him.

Mr. Butterfield left several important works in manuscript, among them "History of Col. David Williamson's Expedition to the Tuscarawas River in 1782," this being a correct story of the massacre of the Moravian Indians, and is a most valuable contribution to the history of the West. It was left to the Western Reserve Historical Society Library which Society will no doubt have it published. But the most important of these works is the "History of Lieut. Col. George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and the Wabash Towns from the British in 1778 and 1779." Mr. Butterfield had this book ready for publication in 1896, but as another work came out that year on the same subject, he concluded not to publish it, and he worked on it almost to the day of his death. In correspondence with the writer of this, Mr. Butterfield said that it was his intention to present it to the Chicago Historical Society; but when advised by the writer to give the manuscript to Washington and Lee University of Virginia on the ground that the supporters of the University were, many of them, descended from Clark's soldiers, he hesitated; but after his death his daughter gave the manuscript to the writer who was expected to have it published by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and if this society does not give it to the public, the manuscript will be sent to the Washington and Lee University. His note book used in gathering material for his Crawford's Sandusky Expedition was also presented to the writer.

He also left the manuscript, but incomplete, of "The West in the Revolution," which has been presented to the Chicago Historical Society. This book ought to be published, for it will fill the one vacant place in American literature.

He left several other manuscripts which he had designed publishing in pamphlet form, and these are still in possession of his family.

In speaking of her father's death, his daughter writes, "I never saw an old person in death look so 'like one who lies down to pleasant dreams.' . . . The children in the neighborhood all came in to see him and seemed startled. One little miss

of six or seven, whom I did not know, came to the door all alone and asked, 'Please might I see Mr. Butterfield?' She looked earnestly quite a while and then smiled and said, 'That looks just like Mr. Butterfield.'"

Mr. Butterfield was twice married. His first wife was Elmira, daughter of John Scroggs of Bucyrus, Crawford County, Ohio, the marriage being May 8, 1854. She died May 15, 1857. He was again married March 30, 1858 to Letta Merriman, widow of James H. Reicheneker. Of this union four children were born: Minnie Bell, who died September 22, 1859, aged six months; a son and daughter both of whom died in infancy; and Alice, who now resides with her widowed mother, and who was a strong right arm to her father during his later years.

Of his father's family, a sister, Mme. Hyacinthe Loysen, of Paris, France; and Mrs. Cylvia Barry are still living. An adopted daughter, Mrs. W. J. White, is the wife of Major White, Chief Quartermaster in the army at Havana, Cuba.

OHIO RAILROADS.

BY R. S. KAYLER,

STATE COMMISSIONER OF RAILROADS.

Ohio was among the first of the States to commence the building of railroads. As early as 1832, when there were but two hundred and twenty-nine miles of railroad in operation in the United States, a special charter was granted by the State of Ohio for the construction of a railroad to extend from Sandusky, Huron County, to Dayton, Montgomery County, a distance of one hundred and fifty-six miles. The road was completed as far as Bellevue, sixteen miles, and put into operation in 1839. The balance of the road was not completed and put into operation until 1844. It is now a part of the "Big Four" system.

In order to aid this enterprise, special acts were passed by the Ohio Legislature authorizing the State to loan its credit to the amount of $200,000, and also authorizing some of the counties through which the road was to pass to subscribe certain amounts, ranging from $25,000 to $60,000 toward the capital stock of the company. The city of Springfield was also authorized to subscribe $25,000.

Another road was projected in 1832, the Kalamazoo and Erie, to extend from Toledo, Ohio, to Adrian, Michigan, thirty-three miles. A company was formed in 1835 and the road was completed the following year, this being really the first road constructed in the State.

Oak stringers, covered with strap iron, five-eighths of an inch in thickness and two and one-half inches in width, were used for track in place of rails. The road was first put into operation by means of horse power in 1836, and continued in that primitive way one year, when a locomotive was purchased and steam power was used thereafter.

In October, 1837, a contract was made with the United States government for carrying the mail.

The first passenger cars were of a very crude pattern, a sort of a double-deck affair, built somewhat after the style of the body of an old stage coach, and having seating capacity for twenty-four persons. The first engine was built similar to the road engines that are now used for thresher engines, and weighed about ten tons, including water and coal tanks loaded. Speed for passenger was less than ten miles per hour, and less than one-half that for freight. The passenger rate was four and one-half cents per mile, and one and one-fourth cents per hundred weight per mile for freight, or twenty-five cents per ton per mile.

FIRST LOCOMOTIVE AND PASSENGER CAR RUN IN OHIO.

Very few miles of railroad were built in this country by any of the States until after 1848. The average number of miles constructed in the United States from 1835 to 1848 was but three hundred and eighty per year, and there were but five thousand, nine hundred and ninety-six miles in operation in this country up to the latter date.

During the year 1848 a road was completed across the State from Cincinnati to Lake Erie, two hundred and eleven miles. In 1851 the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati road, two hundred and sixty-three miles, was completed and put into operation from Cincinnati to Cleveland. The Erie road reached the lake the same year, extending across a part of the State; and a portion of the Cleveland and Pittsburg was put into operation this

year, the charter for which had been granted in 1836. Small stretches of road were built here and there in different parts of the State at different times, and finally were connected up and reorganized into systems, as they exist today.

We had (June 30, 1899) ninety-nine railroad and railway companies incorporated under the laws of Ohio, ninety-five of which are in operation, and four in process of construction. Seventy of these corporations are entirely within the State, and twenty-five are incorporated under the laws of Ohio and adjoin-States. They are operated as follows:

Sixty companies operate the ninety-five corporations.

Seven foreign companies operate twenty-seven corporations under lease or contract.

Four inter-State lines operate, in addition to their own roads, seven corporations, under lease or contract.

Seven State corporations operate, in addition to their own lines, eight corporations.

Eight inter-State and thirty-four state lines operate simply their own individual roads.

Ohio had at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1899, 8,767.27 miles of main line road and 4,619.08 miles of all other tracks, making a total of 13,386.35 miles, with a total cost of road and equipment of $644,355,840.29. The main line is represented by $371,353,547.35 capital stock, with a bonded indebtedness of $314,712,947.19. They gave employment last year (1899) to 57,114 persons, and paid them in wages $32,076,046.35. They transported 22,028,152 passengers, at an average cost of 2.4 cents per passenger per mile; 104,537,103 tons of freight at an average cost of 1.3 cents per ton per mile; earning $72,369,848.68 in gross receipts.

They expended on road and equipment $4,200,054.04. Paid into the State treasury in taxes $3,048,541.70; paid $11,336,123.99 interest on bonded indebtedness, and $5,553,963.35 in dividends to stockholders.

They used in their service 5,410 locomotives, which consumed during the year 3,955,327 tons of coal for fuel; 4,080 passenger cars and 227,771 freight cars were used to do the business fo the roads.

In order to appreciate the progress that has been made in the railroad business in Ohio one must contrast a track made of wooden rails covered with strap iron with modern "T" rails made of steel, weighing 100 pounds to the yard; wooden bridges set on wooden piling, driven into the earth with steel bridges set on best of stone masonry; double-deck coaches, built like an old-fashioned stage coach with modern vestibule and Pullman palace cars; a small ten-ton engine, built like a modern thresher engine, with a 280-ton engine with a tank capacity of 7,000 gallons of water and ten tons of coal, with a hauling capacity of 2,000 tons up a grade of 42 feet to the mile at a much higher rate of speed than the first engines were able to make on a level; a wooden freight car, ten ton capacity, with a car made entirely of steel, with a capacity of 50 tons. And finally, an engine and a couple of cars, coupled together with link and pin, braking done entirely by hand, lumbering along at a speed of about ten miles per hour, with a service each way once in twenty-four hours, with a train of thirteen cars, each a palace within itself, with every convenience, coupled together with automatic couplers, which admit of the smallest amount of slack, and handled entirely by air brakes, running at a speed of a mile a minute, and so smoothly that the great speed is hardly perceptible to the passengers, with service in either direction, in the most densely populated districts, every half hour.

STONE GRAVES IN BROWN COUNTY, OHIO.

BY GERARD FOWKE.

On both sides of the Ohio river, from Manchester, Ohio, to Dover, Kentucky, a distance of twenty-five miles, were formerly many stone graves or cairns. A few stood at varying intervals for some miles below Dover, and as far up the river as Huntington, West Virginia; and some remain along North Fork of Licking river, in Mason county, Kentucky. They were most abundant from Manchester to Ripley on the Ohio side of the river, and from Maysville to Dover on the Kentucky side. Between these points, almost every peak, ridge, or high elevation, commanding an extensive view of the Ohio valley, was crowned with at least one, and in many instances several, of these cairns. The smallest ones contained not more than a wagon-load of stones; the largest fully fifty times as much. Between these extremes was every intermediate size.

For nearly a century—ever since the country was settled by whites—desultory excavations have been carried on in them by people who imagine that Indians concealed "gold" in all such places. The peculiarities of structure reported by these diggers, have led various parties to attempt a methodical investigation; but after visiting many cairns only to find them ravaged, the quest has usually been abandoned. Three or four which had already been partially opened, but were still in such condition that tolerably accurate knowledge could be gained concerning the manner of their construction, are described in the 12th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

In the extreme southeastern corner of Brown county, a a few cairns had escaped the general destruction. They owed their immunity chiefly to trees growing on them, whose roots proved too formidable an obstacle to the idly curious or the seekers for hidden treasure. Five of these were examined; in each case all stones and earth were entirely removed, down to the yellow clay subsoil.

Two miles above Aberdeen, a narrow ridge extends directly south for about 500 feet from the rolling table land. Its top is horizontal; its sides slope steeply like the roof of a house, to a gorge on either side; the end falls precipitously to the river level.

CAIRN NUMBER ONE.

The first cairn opened stood on this ridge, about 300 feet from its point. It was much the largest tumulus of this character yet discovered, measuring 34 feet from north to south, 37 feet from east to west, with its summit six feet above the southern margin. The surface on this side, however, is much lower than formerly, on account of careless cultivation.

The structure had never been in any manner disturbed; relic hunters had looked upon it with longing eyes, but 27 trees growing on its top had discouraged all efforts at excavation.

A trench reaching to the subsoil was dug entirely around the mound, and carried inward until the imbedded rocks were exposed; they covered an area about 26 feet north and south, by 29 feet east and west. These measures are only approximate for roots had so displaced the stones as to destroy the continuity of their outline. There was less disturbance at the southeast side than elsewhere. On this side, near the top, was a grave whose bottom was paved with slabs; it measured three by six feet inside, being longest from northwest to southeast. The sides were formed of similar slabs, set on edge, with the tops sloping outward; the measurements to the top of the outside row were about $7\frac{1}{2}$ and $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Bones were found in the earth from three to six inches above this floor; but none were lying on the stones. The grave, as it appeared when cleared out, is shown in figure 1.

FIGURE 1.

Under this pavement was another of the same kind; the rough faces of the stones were in contact. Between the two were many fragments of human bones, mashed flat. It appeared that more than one body had been placed in each of these graves; but the remains were so decayed and fragmentary that not even a guess could be made as to their number or the manner of their interment.

At the top of the mound, on the east side, was a small grave; it was only five feet long and three feet wide, measuring from the tops of the enclosing stones. It contained a few fragments of decayed bone. A foot below it was an extended skeleton, with the head east, lying just above the natural surface, covered and surrounded with dark earth similar to the native soil.

A grave which antedated the mound was found under its margin on the southwest side; it had been dug to the yellow clay. On its level stone floor were rotten fragments of human bones, with a little charcoal and some pieces of burned animal bones. Slabs, lying at the level of the original surface, covered it and were continuous with those extending up the side of the mound. Those forming the sides enclosed a space only eighteen by forty-eight inches at the bottom; some of them were vertical, and it is probable all were so at the beginning, those now leaning having been pushed from their normal position by the roots which surrounded them on every side. It is shown in figure 2.

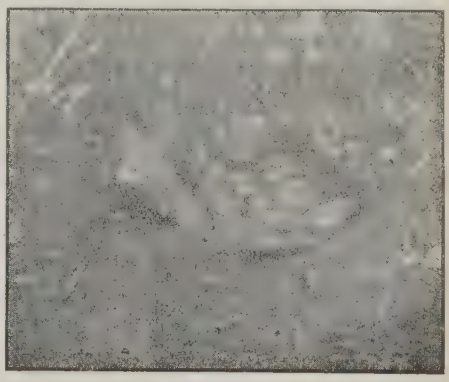


FIGURE 2.

Half-way between the center and the south side, on the yellow clay subsoil, was a thin irregular layer, from four to five feet across, of charcoal containing some burned animal bones.

This had been brought from elsewhere, there being no marks of fire on the earth about it.

Twelve feet south of the centre, in the dark earth and at a lower level than any graves in this portion of the mound, were two extended skeletons with heads toward the northeast. One was directly above the other, with nearly a foot of earth separating them. The bones of both were very soft. Close to the head of the upper one was a small, rudely-worked, flint implement, having a triangular section; this may have been buried with the body, but more likely its presence was accidental. The lower skeleton was that of a very tall but rather slender individual; all the molars were gone from the lower jaw and the bone was closed up solid. The skull was mashed flat between two small stones; near it lay a flat-stemmed pipe. East of these skulls, and close to them, were two limestone slabs, set vertical, and reaching down almost to the yellow clay; each was so large as to tax the strength of three men in removing it. It was evident from the situation of these skeletons and the one previously noted, that at least three individuals were placed here and covered with earth, and that the cairn was built over and around their remains. This fact, in connection with the position of the small stone grave shown in figure 2 is fairly good evidence that the two methods of burial were in use by the same people at or about the same time.

A small pile of rocks on the top of the mound, was the covering of a grave six feet from north to south, four feet from east to west, and sixteen inches deep — all measurements made from the top of the inclined slabs. Just west of this grave was another, almost circular, about three feet in diameter. The stones forming the adjacent walls were resting against each other.

When the floors of these two graves were lifted, fragmentary bones were found immediately under them, resting on a similar floor; below this was another layer of bone; and so they continued until eight layers of bone were disclosed, separated by thin, flat stones, with no earth between them except such as had made its way downward through the narrow spaces between the rocks. It appeared that successive burials had taken place, and

that each had in some measure interfered with those preceding it;—as if a grave were uncovered, flat stones laid directly on the bones within, and a body placed on them; or a grave partially destroyed to make room for another; or the side or end wall of one grave utilized as part of a later one. The resulting confusion was greatest in the four layers immediately below the two top graves; there was less disorder in the next four. The entire area covered by these graves measured fifteen feet east and west by eleven feet north and south. The bones varied much in size; one jaw was massive and nearly two inches longer than that of any one present at the time. Bones of children were also found. None were in condition for preservation.

In the original soil, near the central portion of the earth mound on which these graves were made, were two small shallow holes containing some charcoal and scraps of burned animal bone; in one were two lumps of ochre and a copper "spool". Though much smaller, and of a slightly different pattern, the latter resembles the so-called "ear ornaments" frequently found in the large earth mounds. Lying loose in the dark earth, at the same level, within an area of a square foot, were found part of an adult's lower jaw; half the head of a child's humerus; and one vertebra of an animal as large as a cat. Altogether, the appearance of this portion of the structure gave little evidence of that veneration for the dead which is usually considered so characteristic of the aboriginal American.

Half-way between the center and the north edge of the mound, was a grave more carefully made and in better condition than any other discovered in the course of this work. The floor lay below the original surface, though not so deep as the subsoil, while the side stones forming the walls reached well up into the body of the mound. The earth all about it was so uniform in appearance with the native soil and with the earthen core of the cairn, that it was impossible to establish any conclusion as to the relative times of their construction, the grave may have preceded the mound, or the mound may have been opened and re-filled. When the size of the grave is considered, the former supposition is the more probable. Measuring from the outer part of the enclosing slabs, its length, from east to west, was

nine feet, and its breadth four feet. The south wall cut across a thin deposit of charcoal and burned bones; the part that was left of this occupied a space of about one by two feet. The remains of one person lay on the rock floor, head towards the east; near the skull was a small concretion, possibly used as a paint cup. Figure 3 represents the grave with the covering slabs in place, except as they have been disarranged by falling in, or by the roots which penetrated between them in

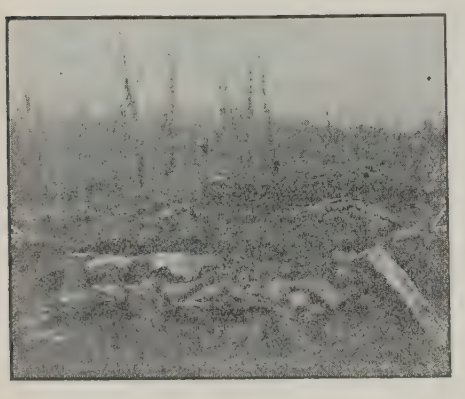


FIGURE 3.

every direction; figure 4 looking towards the east, and figure 5 looking toward the west, show it as it appeared when cleaned out. The large stone close to the east end of this grave had no connection with it, but seemed to belong with another burial, as fragments of skull and other bones, mashed flat, were found between it and and another, somewhat smaller, slab that lay against it. Such finds as this were noted at scores of places throughout the stone por-

FIGURE 4.

tion of this burial place; and while, in a few instances the peculiar position of the remains may be due to the slipping or settling of stones between which they occurred, it was plain that a majority of them were so placed intentionally. Often there would be no more than a handful of bones so interred—as if a dismembered skeleton had been carried in, piece-meal, at odd times.

FIGURE 5.

In clearing off the north edge of the structure, the rocks at the surface were found to rest on a mass of tough, waxy, yellow clay. On removing this to depth of from 15 to 24 inches, a pavement of large flat rocks was found. This included an area of about six by eleven feet, longest east and west. The margin was tolerably regular, but the stones in the central portion were in disorder. Under the latter were the remains of two skeletons, one of them quite large, extended on the natural surface of the ground, with heads toward the east. Instead of having slabs placed on edge around them as was the case in the other graves, they were enclosed by a mass of yellow clay a foot thick. Charcoal was sprinkled around the east end of the grave as far as the middle, and a row of slabs laid around the margin, as shown in figure 6 (the excavation is partly filled with water). The rocks filling the grave had either been thrown in, or, what is more probable, placed upon timbers laid from side to side, and had fallen in when the latter decayed. Yellow clay was piled over and around the whole affair. Although this grave was

clearly a part of the general interments at this spot, as it was protected by the same covering of rocks that extended over the rest of the mound, it is worthy of notice that it had neither walls nor floor of flat stone as had all the others; and that this was the only one in whose construction yellow clay was used.

CAIRN NUMBER TWO.

This was situated a hundred feet south of the first one opened. It measured 22 feet from north to south, and fourteen feet from east to west. A shingle-like arrangement of limestone rocks covered the top, as shown in figure 7. These lay upon ordinary soil which for the first three or four inches was free from stones except the tops of some set vertically in the earth below. The east side was much more rocky than the west, perhaps because it was closer to the bluff on that side. On the west slope bones were found within three inches of the top of the ground; although in fragmentary condition, they were much stronger and more solid than would be expected from their position. Some were on a disturbed pavement, others not at all in contact with rock. The central part of the cairn seemed to be made up of numerous successive, interfering burials, so much so that bones and rocks were promiscuously intermingled. Added to this the roots of several trees had brought the whole interior into such disorder that it was impossible to ascertain anything definite as to the primitive methods of interment; consequently no attempt

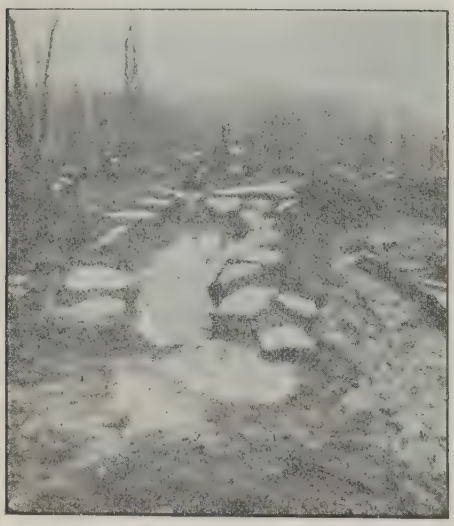


FIGURE 6.

at photographing was made. A small celt was found among some bones.

CAIRN NUMBER THREE.

This is on a point one-fourth of a mile east of the first two. It is slightly below the highest point of the ridge on which it stands, and quite small, measuring only ten feet in diameter and two feet high. Many small stones were piled on it. There was no rock floor on the bottom; a body had been laid on the natural surface, with the head toward the east and fully a foot lower than the feet. The stones around the margin of the grave, instead of being placed on edge were laid flat upon one another to make a wall about as high as the body. The interior of the grave was filled with rocks whose order— or disorder—showed plainly that they had formerly been supported by timber resting on the side walls and had tumbled in when this decayed.

The crowns of the teeth were worn flat. Lying across the lower leg bones of the skeleton were the corresponding bones of another person. From their position it seemed that a body had been placed at a right angle to the first, with the head and trunk extending under and to the outside of the wall on the south; but no traces of the skeleton could be found in this direction. The grave vault, cleaned out, is shown in figure 8.

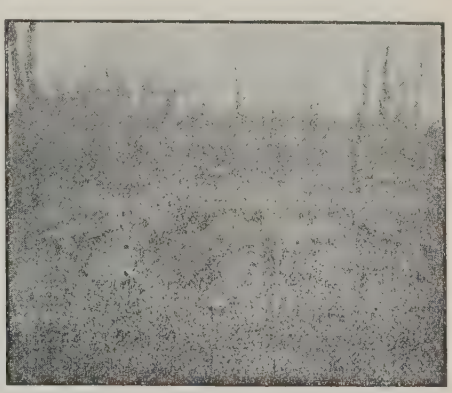


FIGURE 7.

CAIRN NUMBER FOUR.

This stood about thirty feet south from number three, on the edge of the steep slope toward the river. It was nearly rectangular in shape; the north, south, and west sides were bounded by very large slabs standing almost vertical; at the east end were ten or twelve tiers of large stones sharply inclined inward, none of

them having ever been upright. Nearly all the stones in the walls are more or less pushed out of their original position by the roots of trees growing among them; and it is probable that in past times other trees, which have now disappeared, aided in this work. Many wagon-loads of rocks have been piled on this cairn from the surrounding field. When these were removed and the original top of the structure revealed, it was clear that the central portion, of large and small stones mingled in confusion, had fallen into the grave on the decay of some supporting material, probably logs or poles. They rested, now, upon a floor of thin, small, flat rocks which followed the natural slope of the ground; this was not level anywhere, and was fully a foot higher at the upper side than at the opposite, or southern, side. The floor extended over an area of nine feet north and south, by twelve feet east and west, fitting close up to the vertical slabs, reaching beneath the inclined rocks at the east end and terminating beyond the outside row. Fragmentary human bones were scattered all over this pavement; the leaning stones seem to have been set down directly on them. Pieces of skulls were found at fourteen different points, indicating at least that number of interments. Each deposit of bones, however, was quite small; and in some places portions of skull, vertebra, pha-

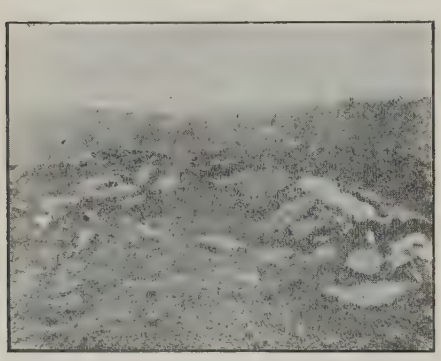


FIGURE 8.

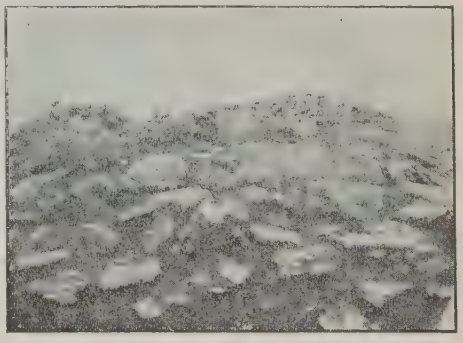


FIGURE 9.

langes, ribs, etc., would be in contact within a space a few inches across. These facts denote skeleton burials; though the same results might follow from depositing a corpse folded and bound into the smallest possible compass. A few bones of birds, to the size of a pheasant, and mammals as large as a fox, were found; the only relics were a small, delicately wrought, triangular flint, and the stem of a catlinite platform pipe. Figure 9, looking north; and figure 10, looking a little to the north of east, show the appearance of the grave before the inclined stones at the east end were removed. When the latter were taken away, human bones, mashed flat, were found between the layers, several inches above the floor. It is difficult to understand how they got there, for the slabs were in as close contact as the unevenness of their surfaces would permit.

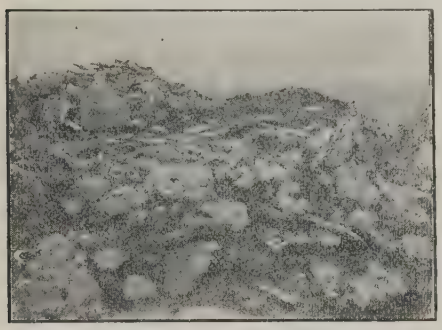


FIGURE 10.

CAIRN NUMBER FIVE.

This is 200 yards from numbers 3 and 4, on another point of the same ridge. When the accumulated trash, possibly including some small stones of the original structure, was cleared away, it measured sixteen feet across, with a somewhat irregular outline. The covering rocks were in a confused mass; their original arrangement could not be made out. Underneath them, to one side of the center, were bones of an adult with the teeth nearly worn away; of a child whose molars and lateral incisors were not yet through the bone; of a deer; and of a bird the size of a turkey. Several flat stones lay under them, but not in any order, and not in contact with one another so as to form a floor. Other bones were found below these, partly in the earth and partly lying on a rather even and smooth pavement of thin rocks, none of them more than a foot across; this pavement measured

ten feet from north to south, and six feet from the east side to where it disappeared under the trees. It is evident that interment in this cairn occurred at two periods.

CONCLUSION.

It is impossible to assign a date to these graves, or to determine what tribe of Indians may have constructed them. The great diversity in their form, size, and arrangement, as shown in the descriptions given here and in the report of the Bureau of Ethnology, renders any attempt at classification mere guess-work.

Professor Cyrus Thomas is inclined to attribute them to the Shawnees, who made the "box graves" in various portions of the country; but while the Shawnee method of setting slabs on edge around a body was largely followed in this locality, there are also found here radical departures from any known Shawnee graves. These may be due, however, to local customs slowly developed during a long period of quiet, unmolested occupancy of the limited area where these cairns are found. The copper "spool-shaped" ornament, and the flat-stemmed pipe, are objects which are commonly considered as pertaining to the "Mound Builders;" but this people was certainly not concerned in the stone graves of this portion of the Ohio valley.

Very few articles were deposited with the dead; so far as may be judged from personal exploration and from the reports of others who have made investigations, not more than half a dozen graves, out of several hundred opened, have yielded specimens of any sort. This is not in accordance with Shawnee customs in the sepulchres of Tennessee or Illinois.

So far as known, no stone graves as complicated and diverse in structure as these exist in other localities.

THE DEBT OF THE WEST TO WASHINGTON.

BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

To us of the central west the memory of Washington and his dearest ambitions must be precious beyond that of any other American, whether statesman, general or seer. Under strange providential guidance the mind and heart of that first American was turned toward the territories lying between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi and it is to be doubted if any other portion of his country received so much of his attention and study as this. Washington was the original expansionist — not for expansion's sake, truly, but for the country's sake and duty's. If Washington was the father of his country he was in a stronger and more genuine sense the father of the west. It was begotten of him. Others might have led the revolutionary armies through the valleys as deep and dark as those through which Washington passed, and have eventually fought England to a similar standstill as did Washington; at least Gates and Greene and Putnam would never have surrendered up the cause of the colonies. But of the west who knew it as Washington did? Who saw its possibilities, realized the advantages which would accrue to the colonies from its possession, understood the part it might play in the commercial development of the seaboard states? Probably no one to a similar degree.

It is wholly idle to speculate upon what might have been unless such speculation aids to help us realize the price which was paid for that which is. If ever a finger was lifted by order of Providence it was the finger which fired the first gun of the French and Indian war in that Allegheny vale. And yet today what would the Washington of 1754 be called—fighting redskins and foreigners with splendid relish in a far distant portion of the country to gain possession of a pathless wilderness?

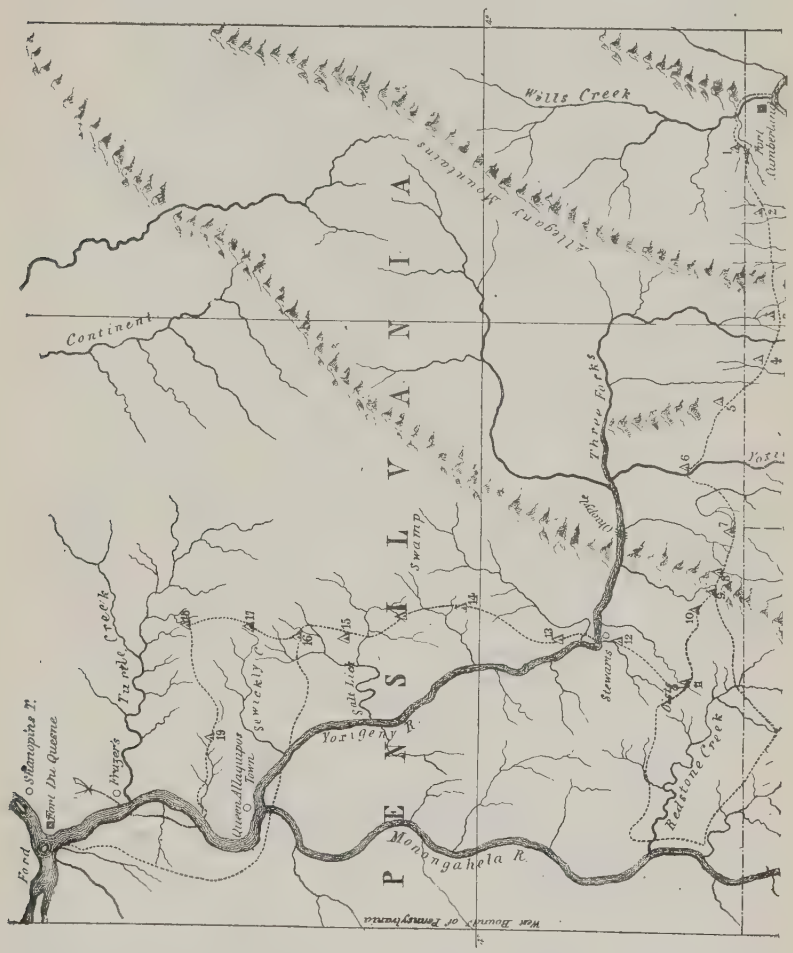
Washington had, first, an extraordinary knowledge of the west which he championed. Into Lord Fairfax's wild acres he went in his teens to earn an honest doubloon a day. Each

step of the young Washington in those early years was frought with the weight of destiny itself, and never has human life showed more plainly the very hand of God directing, preparing, guiding. The years spent with the tripod were of incalculable value to the young surveyor, bringing to his cheeks the brown of the forest leaves, to his limbs the strength of the mountain rivers, and to his heart withal the sweetness of the songs of mountain birds—for all the University of Nature which he attended in the Allegheny mountains saw to it that her pupil was built up in a most holy strength, as he had in him the most holy faith—strength of limb, of mind, as well as soul.

Then the young man stepped upon the stage of history —not indirectly or obscurely or undecidedly, but plain to the world and strong in his conviction of the right of his cause and its ultimate triumph. His mission to La Boeuf for Governor Dinwiddie marks the young Washington conspicuously as a man fully alive to the questions of the hour and their hidden meanings. In an unostentatious way he allowed the commander of Fort Venango to imbibe too freely and rail with many an oath at English presumption in hoping to oust France from the Ohio valley. Oh that we might know in detail the young man's experience and feelings on that one night on the Allegheny! What an example to young men is this first public performance of Washington to do as much more than their mere duty as lies in their power! Washington did far more than was expected of him, for besides getting a clear idea of the genuineness of French hostility, did he not report the strategic value of the point of land at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela, the future sight of Forts Dupuesne and Pitt and the present Pittsburg? And that point of land has been since Washington's attention was turned to it, the strategic military position of the central west.

As in the first, so in the second act of the drama of 1750-60, Washington was the chief figure. He signed the first treaty ever drawn up in the central west, with old Van Braam and Villiers in a misty rain at Fort Necessity. When, in quick succession, the French fortified the spot Washington's genius had selected for a British fort, and the brave but blundering

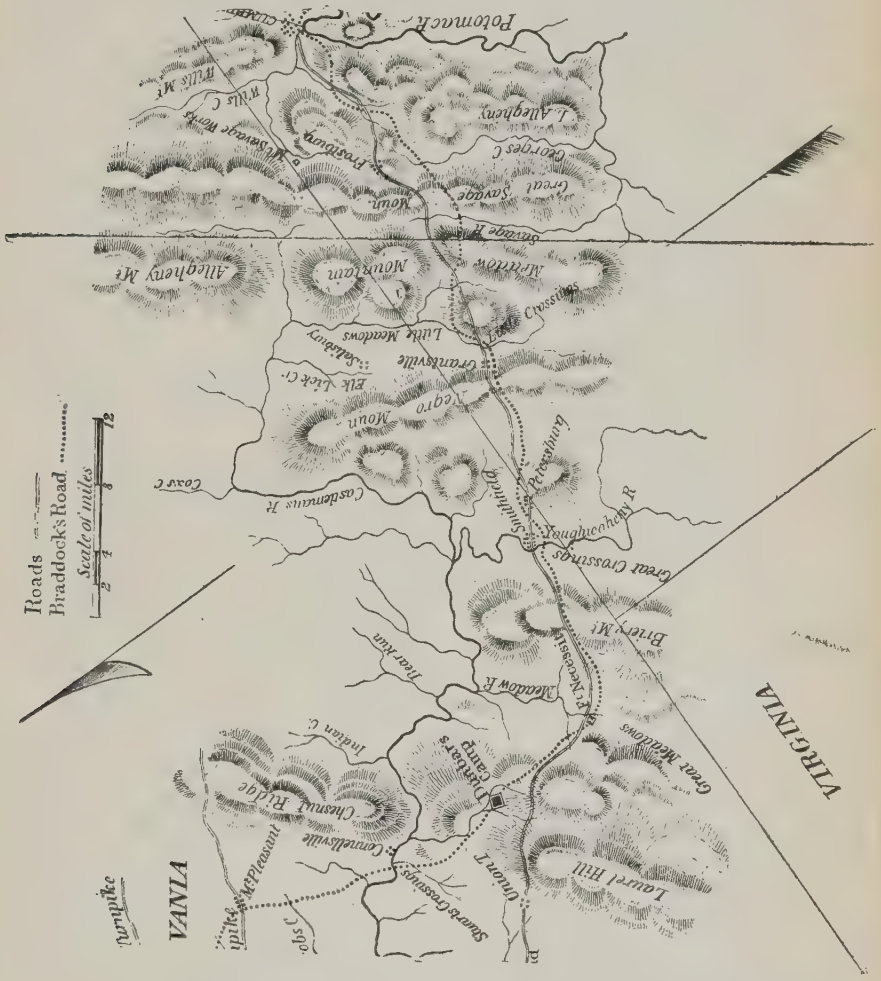
Braddock came to his grave in the Monongahela forests, Washington was perhaps the most conspicuous personage at the bloody ford and battle field.



When, then, in 1759, the young Colonel took his bride, Martha Custis, to Mount Vernon, he was well acquainted with the then west, though it might seem that thereafter its destiny and his were to be indifferent to each other. But not so. The days that were passed in his early struggles for fame and fortune

were not forgotten. In the quiet of his farm life the man could still hear the rippling of the Allegheny streams and the soughing of those great forests, and many of his day dreams found their setting in the rough free land, on whose Indian trails and in whose meadow lands he had first touched hands with fortune. Washington's seven or eight thousand acres near the Potomac were not his only landed possessions. He counted his estates in far western Pennsylvania, along the Ohio and the Great Kanawha. Something of his interest in and solicitation for the future of the west must be attributed to his interest in his own possessions. But his efforts for the west benefited every acre of land and every insignificant squatter, and no one can say with a shadow of reason that Washington's hope for the west was a selfish hope. But his personal interest must not be forgotten by the fair narrator. Together with his personal interest must be mentioned the state pride which Washington had —and which every healthy, hopeful, patriotic man should have. Washington was a Virginian of Virginians and in view of the vast interests which his native state had in the west (granted by ancient charter) his state pride and ambition must have had large appreciable influence in his contemplation of western affairs. Prior to the Revolution it may be said that Washington's interest in the west was largely a personal interest. He visited it at various times in his own and in the interest of others. And after the Revolution his interest may be said to have broadened— proportionately with the broadening importance of the central west to the nation whose best interests were ever nearest his patriotic heart. Early in the 80s Washington's correspondence shows that his attention was devoted as never before to the commercial aspect of the central west. As we read those letters how strangely do the problems of transportation, for instance, seem to us of this day. How the sight of a single fast freight speeding from Chicago to Pittsburg would have knocked the bottom out of the fondest theories of the great and wise men who were at the nation's helm in those days! It is well known how great transportation companies struggle to get and hold certain strategic acres of land only wide enough, it may be, for a single railway track. Can anyone believe that any por-

tion of this central west between the Allegheny and Mississippi; covered with swamps and primeval forests, could have been so greatly prized a century and a quarter ago? Yet this was



true. It was not the river front at Cincinnati, or the lake shore at Cleveland or Chicago. These spots then could have been bought for the shortest songs—and what was in that day considered of priceless value could today be bought for $30 an

acre. I refer to the portages between the head waters of the streams which flow into the lakes and those which flow into the Ohio—between the Cuyahoga and the Muskingum, the Scioto and the Sandusky, the Maumee and the Wabash, etc. So all-important were these strips of land in the eyes of our forefathers, that by the famous Ordinance of 1787 they were voted by congress "common highways and forever free". Some of these I have found; of some of them I have detailed descriptions given by aged men, who remember them when they were only zig-zag Indian trails. But this was one of Washington's most determined ambitions, that the head waters of the Virginia rivers and the head waters of the Oho rivers, both north and south, should be surveyed and made ready for the century when the west should pour its riches toward the Atlantic seaboard. "The navigation of the Ohio." he wrote in 1784 to General Harrison, "being well known, they will have less to do in examination of it; but, nevertheless, let the courses and distances be taken to the mouth of the Muskingum and up that river to the carrying place of the Cuyahoga; down the Cuyahoga to Lake Erie, and thence to Detroit. Let them do the same with Big Beaver creek and with the Scioto. In a word, let the waters east and west of the Ohio which invite our notice by their proximity, and by the ease with which land transportation may be had between them and the lakes on the one side, and the rivers Potomac and James on the other, be explored, accurately delineated and a correct and corrected map of the whole be presented to the public. * * * The object in my estimation is of vast commercial and political importance." These words were written little over a century ago, but were they the plans for the canals from the Nile to the site of the pyramids they could hardly seem more antiquated! And nevertheless they cannot but seem precious to us of the central west, for they portray the anxious, serious heart of the man, and his honest, high ambitions for things which seemed to many about him to be the idlest dreaming.

Had Washington not held far different views from many of his contemporaries, it is a moral certainty that the central west would, at the close of the Revolutionary war, have been

divided up among European powers, who for so long had been sending emissaries to Kentucky and the Mississippi valley to alienate the border settlements from the contemplated union with the colonies. England was ready at any moment to urge Joseph Brant into Pontiac's old role of attempting to arouse the old northwest, and she defiantly kept her flag floating over Sandusky and Detroit and Fort Miami for twenty years after Cornwallis' bands played "The world's turned upside down" at Yorktown. The world looked for a partition of our west among the powers in 1780 as confidently as the partition of the great hulk China is expected by many today. And indeed we escaped such montrous catastrophe by a narrower margin than is commonly known. Spanish agents among high Kentuckians were looked upon with favor, and their plan of joining Kentucky to Spain (who then held all the trans-Mississippi realm) was not without advantages which the struggling, bankrupt, jealous colonies, one "nation today, thirteen tomorrow," could not possibly offer.

With this glimpse of Washington's ambitions for the commercial advancement of the central west, let us notice his subsequent interest in the military operations for its subjugation, an item which even the farseeing Washington had not fully anticipated. At the time of Crawford's campaign, Washington was fully in favor of the advance toward Sandusky, and it was through his influence or suggestion that the command was given to his old friend of Revolutionary days, Colonel William Crawford. True, Crawford was duly elected by the men he led, but his presence in the expedition was due to Washington's influence. When the immortal Ordinance was under discussion Washington's attitude was strong in its favor, and it incorporated, as has already been shown, his idea of the value of the portages between the rivers as the future routes of commerce. During the long and bitter war with the western Indians, 1790-5, Washington had a clearer vision than the most of his advisers, and with better judgment and knowledge sought to gain the ends best for the nation. His "search for a man" was nearly as pathetic as was Lincoln's in another century, but, despite the intense opposition of Kentucky with its seventy thousand inhabitants, he placed Mad Anthony Wayne in command,

who, in the tall grass and felled trees of Fallen Timbers, justified his choice, as Appomattox justified Lincoln's. After the campaign of 1791 under Harmar and the terrible defeat of the brave St. Clair, Washington was the hope of the west. To him the nation looked with that same confidence shown in the darker and more desperate days of the Revolution. He bore the the brunt of criticism and carried on his great heart the sorrows of the bleeding frontier. No one knew better than he the real meaning of the situation. No one saw with clearer eyes the despicable affiliation of British interests with Indian in the last hope of limiting the territories of the upstart colonies to the land east of the mountains. And, while Jay was heroically working for the treaty which at once quenched the dreams of certain British leaders in America, Washington wrote him the whole situation, as follows: "All the difficulties we encounter with the Indians, their hostilities, the murder of helpless women and children along all our frontiers result from the conduct of the agents of Great Britain in this country."

Truly Washington was in a special sense the father of this central west. It is idle to speculate on what might have been its history had it not been championed from the earliest day by this great farseeing man in whom the people of the nation, as a people, believed and trusted as perhaps no leader in history, with the possible exception of William the Silent, has ever been trusted by his countrymen. Many of Washington's plans seem strange to us of today, just in proportion as the times and the customs of his day are strange to our eyes. But his eye was clear, he saw greater possibilities than many of his advisors, his great heart warmed toward the new west, which in his day was sounding with axes ringing a pioneer's welcome to a new land. In his heart of hearts Washington was led to believe in and foresee the dispensation of Providence which has become the wonder of our time. And this belief appeared not in theorizing alone. What could he do toward creating right conceptions concerning the future of the Mississippi Basin, Washington did; and if he had not so done and so believed it is sure that the progress of these great empires between the Allegheny and the Mississippi

and the Great Lakes and the Blue Ridge would not have been what it has.

Has this been sufficiently realized? Have we remembered and appreciated our debt to Washington? And when our united appreciation of the fact influences these imperial commonwealths to put on record in lasting form the gratitude which should be felt, let the monument rise tall and stately from whatever site may seem appropriate, but let it show at the summit the young man Washington, as he was when he came to know the west best. Clothe him in the ranger's costume that he first wore on the Indian trails of the Ohio valley. Place in his hand the old time musket he bore to Fort La Boeuf, or carried in his canoe down the Ohio to the Great Kanawha. That is the WASHINGTON OF THE WEST—the fearless, dutiful, thoughtful youth, who came from his mother's knee to the west that gave him a fame which he never could outgrow.

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE AND THE BATTLE OF "FALLEN TIMBERS."

CENTENNIAL ORATION.

DELIVERED BY JUDGE SAMUEL F. HUNT, OF CINCINNATI, ON THE BATTLEFIELD, AUGUST 20, 1894, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE MAUMEE VALLEY MONUMENTAL ASSOCIATION.

APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY.

In April, 1792, Anthony Wayne was appointed by President Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States. The position to which he was called, under the circumstances, required military and diplomatic skill of the highest order. It seemed that the Government was about to become involved in an interminable war with the Indians of the northwest, while hostilities with Great Britain appeared inevitable, because of the refusal to comply with certain articles of the Treaty of 1783, and especially that which provided for the evacuation of the forts in the territory northwest of the Ohio River.

The first step to be taken was the re-organization of the army, since the troops under St. Clair had been almost annihilated and completely demoralized. The army was to be known as the "Legion of the United States," and was to consist of one major-general, four brigadier generals and their respective staffs, the "necessary number of commissioned officers," and five thousand one hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The Secretary of War at parting with General Wayne, in May, 1792, "expressly enjoined upon him," "that another defeat would be inexpressibly ruinous to the reputation of the Government"; while the only request made by the Commander-in-Chief was that the campaign should not begin until the legion was filled up and properly disciplined.

RECRUITING AND RE-ORGANIZING THE ARMY.

General Wayne went to Pittsburg in June, 1792, for the purpose of recruiting and organizing his army. During the

summer and winter efforts were made to ascertain whether the Indians were willing to negotiate, until at last it was determined that the only to protect the frontiers, and make possible the safety and security of the settler was to advance into the Indian country and bring them into submission by the strong arm of military power. Toward the close of the summer he moved his camp to a position on the Ohio River about twenty-seven miles below Pittsburg, and there remained during the winter in striving to conciliate the Indians, but in the meantime giving strict attention to the recruiting and disciplining of his army. At the close of March the force consisted of about 2,500 men; and he writes that "The progress that the troops have made, both in maneuvering and as marksmen, astonished the savages on St. Patrick's Day; and I am happy to inform you that the sons of that saint were perfectly sober and orderly, being out of the reach of whisky, which *baneful poison* is prohibited from entering this camp except as the component part of a ration, or a little for fatigue duty or on some extraordinary occasion." In May, 1793, he moved his camp to Fort Washington, the present site of Cincinnati. In the preceding January the general had been told by the Secretary of War that the "sentiments of the citizens of the United States are adverse in the extreme to an Indian war," and even a commission had been named to treat with the Indians in the hope of securing peace. The Secretary of War again assured him that it was still more necessary than heretofore that no offensive operations be taken against the Indians. Still General Wayne spared no effort in further securing the efficiency of his army, and he even sent too Kentucky for mounted volunteers.

DISASTROUS EFFECT OF ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

The dreadful loss of life in St. Clair's defeat of November 4, 1791, greater even than that in the defeat of Braddock, did not by any means represent the disastrous results of that campaign. It opened an unprotected frontier of one thousand miles from the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi River to the depredations of the victorious savages. The settlers along the borders were abandoning their homes, or awaiting in helpless

despair the burnings and massacres and cruelties of an Indian war. This feeling of insecurity extended even beyond the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia and the people petitioned their governors for protection. The settlers withdrew into their strong places and kept watch as militia for the protection of their homes. Such agricultural pursuits as were carried on required men with guns at hand as well as axes and hoes. Winthrop Sergeant, commanding the militia in the absence of Governor St. Clair, felt called upon to issue an order or proclamation as to assembling for public worship without arms. It is dated Cincinnati, September 18, 1792, and declares that the practice of assembling for public worship without arms may be attended with most serious and melancholy consequences. It presents the opportunity to an enemy of the smallest degree of enterprise to effect such fatal impression upon an infant settlement as posterity might long in vain lament.

The laws of the territory then provided that every man enrolled in the militia should, upon such occasions, arm and equip himself as though he were marching to engage the enemy, or in default should be fined in the sum of one hundred cents, to be levied upon complaint made to any justice of the peace. General Wilkinson, on the very day after the engagement at Fort St. Clair, wrote to Governor St. Clair from Fort Washington, in which he alluded to the impending storm. It may well be said that when General Wayne reached the Northwestern Territory he was confronted with a condition and not a theory.

THE GREAT COUNCIL AT AU GLAIZE.

In the same year, October, 1792, a great council of all the tribes of the northwest was held at Au Glaize—now Fort Defiance. It was the largest Indian council of the time. The chiefs of all the tribes of the Northwestern Territory were there, as well as the representatives of the Seven Nations of Canada. Corn-planter was present—the same famous chief who, at the table of General Wayne, at Legionville, in 1793, said: "My mind is upon that river," pointing to the Ohio. "May that water ever continue to run, and remain the lasting boundary between the Americans and Indians on the opposite side."

The question of peace or war was long and earnestly discussed. It was finally agreed that they would lay the bloody tomahawk aside until they heard from the President of the United States, when the message would be sent to all the different nations. It was further agreed that they would attend the council at the Rapids of the Miami—Maumee—next spring to hear all that would take place.

This armistice or cessation of hostilities which the Indians then promised to respect until spring, as will be observed, was not faithfully kept. It must be said to the credit of our Government that even the violation of the armistice, with other hostilities, did not prevent the United States from taking measures to meet the hostile tribes "at the Rapids of the Miami, or Maumee," when the leaves were fully out; and for this purpose Benjamin Lincoln, Bevelry Randolph and Timothy Pickering were appointed as commissioners to attend the proposed council, which it was finally concluded should be held at Sandusky.

WAR WITH THE INDIANS INEVITABLE.

The declaration of Corn-planter, that the Ohio River should be the boundary, rendered useless any further attempts at pacification by treaty. Indeed, the hostile manner in which they were received, as well as continued depredations, made war inevitable. Colonel Harden and Major Trueman, who were the bearers of a message of this character, were barbarously murdered by the Indians to whom they were sent, while in the other the terms of the Government were decidedly rejected, after negotiations had been protracted until the enemy felt himself better prepared for the conflict which must follow. The correspondence of General Wayne in the conduct of the campaign from the very beginning evinces great strength and soundness of judgment, as well as a knowledge of the people of the frontiers whom he was to defend and of the foes whom he was commissioned to subdue.

In September, 1793, the Secretary of War writes to General Wayne: "Every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword; the efforts have failed under circumstances which leave nothing for us to expect but war. Let it

therefore be again, and for the last time, impressed deeply upon your mind, that as little as possible is to be hazarded, that your force is fully adequate to the object you propose to effect, and that a defeat at the present time, and under the present circumstances would be pernicious in the highest degree to the interests of the whole country."

General Wayne, in reply to the Secretary of War, wrote on the 15th of October, 1793, from his camp, "Hobson's Choice," near Cincinnati: "I will advance to-morrow with the force I have, in order to take up a position in front of Fort Washington, so as to keep the enemy in check by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their women and children, until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect. I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the mind of the President or yourself on account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of the Government (which I will support with my last breath), you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily. Unless more powerfully supported than I have reason to expect, I will content myself with taking a strong position in advance of Fort Jefferson, and by exerting every power to endeavor to protect the frontier and secure the posts and the army during the winter, or until I am favored with your further orders."

THE MARCH IN THE WILDERNESS.

The army of General Wayne, some twenty-five hundred strong, began its forward movement in the wilderness on the 7th day of October, 1793. The army marched to Fort Hamilton and finally encamped at a post six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson and eighty miles distant from Cincinnati, which was named Greenville, in honor of General Nathaniel Greene, with whom he served in the War of the Revolution. General St. Clair crossed the Big Miami at Fort Hamilton, while General Wayne crossed the river some distance above the Four Mile Creek. Lieutenant Lowry, in command of a detachment to secure a convoy of supplies, was attacked October 17, 1793, by Little Turtle, at Ludlow Spring, about seven miles from

Fort St. Clair. Lieutenant Lowry was killed, with some thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, while not less than seventy horses were taken off by the Indians.

"THE TONGUE OF FAME."

The report of this engagement by General Wayne is most significant. It will be remembered that the disaster to the army on November 4, 1791, had filled the whole country with sorrow, and much criticism was provoked by the result of the campaign. The public mind was sensitive and the commanding general realized that hostile criticism might magnify the attack and its results. The Secretary of War, too, was not without some apprehension as to the result of the campaign. General Wayne, accordingly hastened to report the action to General Knox, Secretary of War, in a letter dated "Camp, southwest branch of the Miami, six miles advance of Fort Jefferson, October 23, 1793." He was then at Fort Greenville and the southwest branch of the Miami is Greenville Creek. The report says: "The greatest difficulty which at present presents, is that of furnishing a sufficient escort to secure our convoy of provisions and other supplies from insult and disaster, and at the same time retain a sufficient force in camp to sustain and repel the attacks of the enemy, who appear desperate and determined. We have recently experienced a little check to our convoys, which may probably be exaggerated into something serious by the tongue of fame, before this reaches you. The following, however, is the fact, viz.: Lieutenant Lowry, of the Second Sub-Legion, and Ensign Boyd, of the First, with a command consisting of ninety commissioned officers and privates, having in charge twenty wagons belonging to the quartermaster general's department, loaded with grain, and one of the contractor's wagons, loaded with stores, were attacked early in the morning on the 17th instant, about seven miles advance of Fort St. Clair, by a party of Indians. These gallant young gentlemen, who promised at a future day to be ornaments to their profession, together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell, after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part

of the escort upon the first discharge. The savages killed or carried off about seventy horses, leaving the wagons and stores standing in the road, which have all been brought into the camp without any other loss or damage, except some trifling articles."

Those who fell in that engagement were buried in Fort St. Clair, when, after resting for more than forty years, were taken up and re-interred with the honors of war on the 4th day of July, 1846. The remains of this gallant officer and his men were afterwards removed to the mound in the cemetery at Eaton, where, as the inscription tells, a monument "marks their resting place, and will be a monument of their glory for ages to come."

THE WINTER OF 1793-4 AT FORT GREENVILLE.

General Wayne passed the winter of 1793-4 at Fort Greenville, and without any communication with the Government at Philadelphia for months. He was left to his own resources. Convoys of provisions for the camp were frequently intercepted as under Major Lowry, and their escort murdered by the savages. In December, 1793, General Wayne sent forward a detachment to the spot of St. Clair's defeat. The command arrived on the ground on Christmas Day and pitched their tents on the battlefield. After the melancholy duty of burying the bones remaining above the ground, a fortification was built and named Fort Recovery, in commemoration of the recovery of the ground from the Indians, who had held possession since 1791. One company of artillery and one of riflemen were left for the defense of the fort, while the rest of the command returned to Fort Greenville. In January, 1792, General James Wilkinson, who then commanded at Fort Washington, made a call for volunteers to accompany an expedition to the scene of St. Clair's defeat for the purpose of burying the dead. Ensign William Henry Harrison was attached to one of the companies of the regular troops. It is said that the body of General Richard Butler, the friend and comrade of General Wayne in the War of the Revolution, was recognized where the carnage had been the thickest and among a group of the slain.

The bodies were gathered together, and in the solitude of the forest, and amidst the gloom of winter, were given a last resting place.

THE ENGAGEMENT AT FORT RECOVERY, JUNE 30, 1794.

While the army of General Wayne was encamped at Fort Greenville there was a severe and bloody engagement under the very walls of Fort Recovery. This occurred on the 30th of June, 1794, between a detachment of American troops, consisting of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons commanded by Major McMahon, and a numerous body of Indians and British. The assaulting party was repulsed with a heavy loss, but again renewed the attack and kept up a heavy and constant firing during the whole day. The enemy renewed the attack the next morning, after the detachment of Major McMahon had entered the fort, and continued with desperation during the day, but was finally compelled to retreat from the very field where such a decisive victory had been achieved by the Indians on November 4, 1791. From the official report of Major Mills, adjutant general of the army, it appears that twenty-two officers and non-commissioned officers were killed, and among the number was Major McMahon. The loss of the enemy was very heavy, but was not fully known until disclosed at the Treaty of Greenville. Burnet, in his Notes on the Northwestern Territory, says that there could not have been less than fifteen hundred warriors engaged, while it was satisfactorily ascertained that a considerable number of British soldiers and Detroit militia acted with the savages in that engagement. Jonathan Alden gives in his MSS. autobiography an account of the attack on the fort and says that Simon Girty was in the action.

THE OVERTURES FOR PEACE FROM FORT DEFIANCE.

General Wayne, having been re-inforced by sixteen hundred mounted men from Kentucky, on July 26, under the command of Major-General Scott, with whom he had served at the Battle of Monmouth, left the encampment at Fort Greenville on the 28th of July, 1794, and advanced seventy miles northward into the heart of the Indian country. He built a fort at Grand Glaize, the junction of the Auglaize and the Maumee

(Le Glaize and the Miami of the Lakes) rivers and proceeded to build Fort Defiance. General Wayne sent a message from Fort Defiance to the Indians along the Maumee on August 13, 1794. He offered them peace and invited them to send representatives to meet him in council and negotiate upon such terms as would protect their families and themselves. Little Turtle, who had always been first in battle, counseled peace, and advised the tribes, but his counsels were rejected: "We have beaten the enemy every time under separate commanders," said Little Turtle, in a speech, "but we cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him, and during all the time he has been marching on the villages, nothwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers to me it would be prudent to listen to the offers of peace."

THE BATTLE OF "FALLEN TIMBERS."

The army moved forward on the 15th of August and on the 18th took a position at the head of the Rapids and there established a magazine of supplies and baggage, which was called Fort Deposit. In the meantime, August 16, the commissioner sent by General Wayne returned with the message that if General Wayne would remain at Grand Glaize they would decide for war or peace. Wayne was well advised of the movements of the enemy. Unlike St. Clair, he knew full well that Little Turtle with two thousand dusky warriors was only waiting for an opportunity to attack, while his line of communication with the Ohio River was secure by means of the complete chain of forts—Fort Defiance, Fort Adams, Fort Recovery, Fort Greenville, Fort Jefferson, Fort St. Clair, Fort Hamilton and Fort Washington.

The day before the battle of "Fallen Timber" a council of war was called and a plan of march and battle submitted by Lieutenant William Henry Harrison was adopted. This officer was then but twenty-one years of age, and the military

judgment of the subaltern manifested itself as general-in-chief nineteen years afterwards in the same Maumee Valley.

Two thousand Indians and Canadian volunteers, on the twentieth of August, 1794, attacked the advance of the army of General Wayne from behind trees prostrated by a tornado. The troops pressed forward with great energy and drove the enemy toward the guns of Fort Miami and the water of the Maumee Bay. The victory was complete. General Wayne remained below the Rapids with his victorious army for three days, while he destroyed every product of the field and garden above and below the British Fort, and even committed to the flames the extensive store-houses and dwelling of Colonel Alexander McKee, the British agent, who had done so much to incite the Indians to hostility. The loss of the Americans in the engagement was thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded, including five officers among the killed, and nineteen wounded. General Wayne, after the engagement of "Fallen Timbers," was known among the Potawatomies as "The Wind," because, as they said, at the battle on the twentieth of August, he was exactly like the hurricane which drives and tears everything before it. He was known as "The Blacksnake" among other tribes.

GENERAL WAYNE'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE.

The official report of the engagement by General Wayne was dated Grand Glaize, August 28, 1794. It contains a detailed account of the movements and is interesting in that it contains exact historical information. After speaking of the march of the army from Fort Defiance on the 15th of August, and the arrival at Roche de Bœuf on the 18th instant, and the work of the 19th in making a temporary post for the reception of stores and baggage and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy, the report proceeds: "At eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th the army again advanced in columns agreeably to the standing order of march; the legion on the right flank covered by the Miamis, one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear under Brigadier General Barbee; a select battalion of mounted volunteers

moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced so as to give timely notice to form in case of action—it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or for war.

"After advancing about five miles Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and in the high grass, as to compel him to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close, thick wood, which extended for miles on our left and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old, fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their savage mode of warfare. They were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other and extending nearly two miles at right-angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of their fire and the extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first, and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

"I also ordered Captain Campbell, who commanded the Legionary Cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd and Barbee, of the Mounted Volunteers, to gain their proper positions,

but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being driven in the course of an hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their number. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants.

"The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe from the inclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself upon the occasion."

".....: The loss of the enemy was more than that of the Federal Army. The woods were strewn for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets. We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Maumee, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of the garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores and property of Colonel McKee, the British Indian agent, and the principal stimulator of the war between the United States and the savages."

AN ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF INDIANS ENGAGED IN THE BATTLE.

The report of General Wayne states "that from every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants." It has always been impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the force of the Indians in any battle. It is thought by some that the force under Little Turtle at St. Clair's defeat greatly outnumbered the Americans, while others held to the contrary opinion. In the Western Annals will be found a statement by a Canadian taken prisoner in the battle of the "Fallen

Timbers," who gives the following estimate of the strength of the Indians: "That the Delawares have about five hundred men, including those who live on both rivers, the White River and Bean Creek; that the Shawnees have about three hundred warriors, part of them live on the St. Joseph's, eight leagues from this place; that the men were all in the action, but the women are yet at that place, or Piquets village; that a road leads from this place directly to it; that the number of warriors belonging to that place, when altogether, amounts to about forty; that the Shawnees have about three hundred warriors; that the Tawas, on this river, are two hundred and fifty; that the Wyandots are about three hundred; that those Indians were generally in the action on the 20th, except some hunting parties; that a re-inforcement of regular troops, and two hundred militia, arrived at Fort Miami a few days before the army appeared; that the regular troops in the fort amounted to two hundred and fifty, exclusive of the militia; that about seventy of the militia, including Captain Caldwell's corps, were in the action; that Colonel McKee, Captain Elliott and Simon Girty were on the field, but at a respectable distance, and near the river; that the Indians have wished for peace for some time, but that Colonel McKee always dissuaded them from it, and stimulated them to continue the war."

THE DEATH OF TURKEY FOOT.

There is a tradition that Turkey Foot, an Ottawa chief, fell at the foot of Presque Isle Hill while endeavoring to rally the retreating warriors. He was pierced by a musket ball while standing on a large rock and encouraging his men. His tribe entertained so much affection for him that it is recorded that long years afterward when any of the tribe passed along the Maumee trail they would stop at the rock and linger for a time with great manifestations of sorrow. The stone is still there within a few steps of the gently flowing Maumee, with many rude figures of a turkey foot carved on it as a memorial of the English name of the lamented Me-sa-sa, or Turkey Foot.

UNFRIENDLY DISPOSITION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The guns of Fort Miami kept silent, although the men under Wayne's command followed the retreating Indians under the very embrasures.

The correspondence between General Wayne and the British officer is not without interest, in view of the relations existing between the United States and Great Britain at that time, and especially taken in connection with the fact that General Wayne was told by Secretary Knox that if in the course of his operations against the Indian enemy it should become necessary to dislodge the party (the English garrison at the Rapids of the Miami), he was authorized in the name of the President of the United States to do it. These Indians of the northwest were the Shawnees and the Delawares—generally called the Miamis—who had taken refuge in Ohio after the capture of Fort De Quesne by Bouquet in 1763. With the Wyandots, the Miamis, the Chippewas and the Pottawatomies they formed a powerful confederacy in the northwest portion of Ohio, near the River Maumee, then called Miami of the Lake, and Lake Erie. There was constant communication with the Indians further west and the Canadians, as well as with the English garrison at Detroit and at certain smaller posts along the borders of the lake. Not only did the English Government establish garrisons in the very midst of these hostile Indians, but the letters from Colonel McKee to Colonel England, the British commandant at Detroit, during the campaign of Wayne, and published in the National Intelligencer in 1814, show the feeling of Great Britain toward the American arms. In a letter dated at the Rapids, July 5, 1794, Colonel McKee alludes to the attack on Fort Recovery on the 30th of June preceding, and says that "everything had been settled prior to their leaving the 'Fallen Timbers,' and it had been agreed upon to confine themselves to taking convoys and attacking at a distance from the forts, if they should have the address to entice the enemy out."

In a subsequent letter written from the Rapids and dated August 13, 1794, Colonel McKee advises Colonel England that "Scouts are sent up to view the situation of the army (Wayne's),

and we now muster 1,000 Indians. All the Lake Indians from Saginaw downwards should not lose one moment in joining their brethren, as every accession of strength is an addition to their spirits."

The celebrated speech of Tecumseh to Proctor after Perry's victory shows, too, that the Indians had regarded the British as real allies and had relied upon their assurances of friendship.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MAJOR CAMPBELL AND GENERAL WAYNE.

Fort Miami was built in the spring of 1794 by Governor Simcoe, of Canada. One of the grievances against the British Government was the retention of the posts held by English garrisons within our territory in violation of the Treaty of Peace of 1783. When the battle of "Fallen Timbers" took place the negotiations which ended in Jay's Treaty were in progress, but when the news of the victory over the Indians reached the British ministry an agreement was soon reached by which their posts were to be evacuated—the principal of which were at Detroit, Oswego, Niagara, Macinac and Fort Miami. Major Campbell, the next day after the battle, addressed this note to General Wayne: "An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami (Maumee), for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to his majesty, the King of Great Britain, occupied by his majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation, on my part, to say that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America."

General Wayne replied at once to this demand: "Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogation, I think I may without breach of decorum, observe to you, that were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms yesterday morning, in the action against the

horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, etc., were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States."

Major Campbell prefaced his reply the next day with the statement that he had foreborne for the past two days to resent the insults which had been offered to the British flag flying at the fort. "But," continues Major Campbell, "should you, after this, continue to approach my post in the threatening manner you are at this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my king and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures which thousands of either nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which I solemnly appeal to God I have used my utmost endeavor to arrest."

RECONNOISSANCE BY GENERAL WAYNE AND HIS OFFICERS.

When this communication was received, General Wayne, in company with General Wilkinson, Lieutenant William Henry Harrison and other officers, reconnoitered Fort Miami in every direction. It was found to be a strong work, the front covered by the Miami of the Lake (Maumee), and protected by four guns. The rear had two regular bastions, furnished with eight pieces of artillery, the whole surrounded by a wide, deep ditch, about twenty-five feet deep from the top of the parapet. It is said to have been garrisoned by four hundred and fifty soldiers.

General Wayne then sent a note to Major Campbell, stating that the only cause he had to entertain the opinion that there was a war existing between Great Britain and America was the hostile act of taking post far within the well-known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of Indian tribes now at war with the United States. "I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you

immediately desist from any further acts of hostility or aggression by forbearing to fortify and by withdrawing the troops, artillery and stores under your order and direction, forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Brittanic majesty's troops at the peace of 1783, and which you will be permitted to do unmolested by the troops under my command."

Major Campbell instantly replied in effect that he was placed there in command of a British post and acting in a military capacity only, and that the right or propriety of his present position should be left to the ambassadors of the different nations. He was much deceived if his majesty, the King of Great Britain, had not a post on this river at and prior to the Treaty of 1783. "Having said thus much," continued Major Campbell, "permit me to inform you that I certainly will not abandon this post at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders for that purpose from those I have the honor to serve, or the fortunes of war should oblige me. I must still adhere, sir, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it."

Within less than twenty years from the very day that the correspondence passed between these two officers there was a formal declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain, and within less than twenty years the same William Henry Harrison, then commanding the armies of the United States, heard the thunder of Perry's guns as they proclaimed that the American arms had undisputed possession of the lake.

THE MARCH TO THE JUNCTION OF THE ST. JOSEPH'S AND ST. MARY'S RIVERS AND THE BUILDING OF FORT WAYNE.

The army returned to Fort Defiance on August 27, laying waste the villages and cornfields of the enemy for many miles. The Indians, defeated and utterly disheartened, retired to the borders of the Maumee Bay.

General Wayne moved from Fort Defiance on September 14 in the direction of the Miami Village, and reached the confluence of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's rivers on the 17th of

the month. The site of a fort was selected by General Wayne himself on the 18th, and on the 22d of October a strong fortification was completed, which was garrisoned by a detachment under Major Hamtramck, who, after firing a salute of fifteen guns, gave it the name of Fort Wayne, the site of the present prosperous city of that name.

THE RETURN OF THE ARMY TO FORT GREENVILLE.

The object of the campaign having been fully accomplished, the legion moved from Fort Wayne on the 28th of October and reached Fort Greenville on the evening of November 2, 1794, when it was saluted with thirty-five guns from a six-pounder. The army had marched from Fort Greenville for the campaign of the northwest on the 28th day of July, 1794, and now returned to winter quarters after an arduous and fatiguing expedition of ninety-seven days, during which time it had marched and countermarched upwards of three hundred miles through the heart of the enemy's country, cutting a wagon-road the entire distance, besides constructing three fortifications—Fort Adams, at the St. Mary's; Fort Defiance, at Au Glaize, and Fort Wayne, at the Miami villages.

The Indians of the northwest had been completely subdued and a lasting peace had been accomplished. The arms, too, of the United States had been vindicated from the shame of defeat and disaster. It was the beginning of an era of prosperity and the tide of immigration at once set in for new homes and new settlements. The future now lay in the direction of the cultivation of all the arts of peace. The pioneers began to find their way to the valleys of the Miamis, the Scioto and the Muskingum, so that the population of the northwest, before the close of the year 1796 was estimated at five thousand souls.

ANTHONY WAYNE AND THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

The Treaty of Greenville, negotiated by General Wayne on the part of the United States, was concluded on the 3rd day of August, 1795. There were eleven hundred and thirty Sachems and warriors present or parties to this celebrated treaty.

By the treaty the Indians ceded to the United States about

25,000 square miles of territory, besides sixteen separate tracts, including lands and forts. The Indians received in consideration of these cessions goods of the value of $20,000 as presents, and were promised an annual allowance of $9,500, to be equally divided among the parties to the treaty.

It has been almost a century since that eventful day in August, 1795, when the Treaty of Greenville was officially proclaimed. Every soul who participated in the council has passed away, and yet the influence of that instrument lives in the progress and advancement of the great northwest. It saved defenceless settlements from the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the Indian, and supplanted the harsher tones of strife and bloodshed with the softer enactments of charity and love. Anthony Wayne will be remembered not less for the Treaty of Greenville than for the battle of the "Fallen Timbers."

THE LAST PUBLIC SERVICES OF GENERAL WAYNE.

The last public service performed by General Wayne was to receive the surrender of the northern posts by the British Government in 1796, at the fort of the Maumee Rapids, together with the town of Detroit and the military works both there and on the Island of Mackinac (————), in pursuance of the provisions of the treaty negotiated by Chief Justice Jay in 1783. General Wayne was appointed by the Government to conduct this delicate and yet most important commission. He was invested with the powers of a civil commissioner, as well as those of a military commander. In every instance he carried out the formalities of the transfer to the American Government with rare judgment, but with official courtesy. He visited Detroit in September and remained at that post for two months. The Indians, who had gathered there in numbers, welcomed him with noisy demonstrations, and it is said that he was a powerful means in encouraging and perpetuating a lasting influence between them and their former enemies.

It must have been a great satisfaction to have received the transfer of Fort Miami, under whose guns he bade defiance to its commandant, and the surrender of which, with the other posts, was hastened by his brilliant campaign.

The last post he was ordered to visit was Fort Erie, and on the 17th of November, 1796, he sailed from Detroit to execute this commission. On the way he was seized with an attack of the gout, and was removed from the vessel in a dying condition. It is related that at the beginning of the battle of "Fallen Timbers," about ten o'clock in the morning, he was suffering the most intense pain from the gout, so that not only were his limbs swathed in flannels, but it became necessary to lift him on his horse. In the excitement of the battle, however, he became as active as any of his officers. General St. Clair was almost incapacitated for duty by a similar attack on the field of his defeat, while Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, and who commanded on that day of Federal disaster, died thirty years after the Treaty of Greenville of the gout at Fort Wayne, and was accorded a soldier's burial, with muffled drums and a funeral salute.

THE DEATH OF GENERAL WAYNE.

General Wayne died December 15, 1796, in his fifty-second year, and was buried, according to his last request, at the foot of the flag-staff at Fort Erie on the borders of the lake. Perhaps the dying hero saw in its turbulent waves at times something of his own unconquerable will and, at others, in its peaceful waters that quiet which would come at last to his own restless soul.

On July 4, 1809, his remains were re-interred in the cemetery of the Church of St. David's in Radnor, Delaware county, Pennsylvania, under the military escort of the Philadelphia City Troop. The funeral oration was delivered by Reverend David Jones, his chaplain, and who had been with him in camp and council and battlefield. The shaft erected to his memory bears this inscription on the north front: "Major General Anthony Wayne was born at Waynesborough, in Chester county, State of Pennsylvania, A. D. 1745. After a life of honor and usefulness he died in December, 1796, at a military post on the shores of Lake Erie, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States. His military achievements are commemo-

rated in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen. His remains are here deposited."

On the south front it reads: "In honor of the distinguished military services of Major-General Anthony Wayne, and as an affectionate tribute of respect to his memory, this stone was erected by his companions-in-arms, The Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, July 4, 1809, thirty-fourth anniversary of the independence of the United States of America, an event which constitutes the most appropriate eulogium of an American soldier and patriot."

"FALLEN TIMBERS" A DECISIVE BATTLE.

One hundred years have passed since that day in August when this beautiful Maumee Valley echoed with musketry and resounded with the cry of the savage. The harvests are now being peacefully gathered to their garners, and the songs of home are uninvaded by the cries and terrors of battle.

It is not, then, too soon to say that history must declare it a decisive battle. It is true that it must pale before the mighty achievements of the late Civil War, when vast armies were picked up on the banks of the Potomac and dropped on the banks of the Cumberland and Tennessee, and when the shouts of more than a million of men, mingled with the roar of the oceans as they passed on in the serried ranks of war. The results are scarcely less lasting, for it ended in the complete subjugation of the tribes of the northwest, and enforced for the first time the provisions of the Treaty of Peace of 1783, by which British power was forever destroyed in the territory northwest of the Ohio River. It opened the solemn and mysterious forest, which extended in melancholy wastes from the Alleghenies toward the distant Mississippi, to millions of freemen, and the soil, which had been gathering fertility from the repose of centuries, began to bud and blossom of the rose under an intelligent husbandry. It gave birth to a new era in American civilization, and five great commonwealths bear witness that education and morality are the foundations of a good government. As we stand on this consecrated ground, where the Ordinance of 1787 was enforced by the guns of Anthony Wayne,

we hail the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, children of the Great Ordinance and shining stars in the crowded galaxy of our flag. Ohio looks with them to the Federal Constitution as the covenant of a perpetual union, and cherishes their history as a common heritage and their prosperity as a common blessing. In the spirit of a broader patriotism Ohio feels an abiding affection for every part of our common country, and pledges to that government which here fought the battle for all the full measure of devotion to every call of duty.

GENERAL WAYNE AND THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

The services which General Wayne rendered during the War of the Revolution are a part of the history of the country. He had that strong will which often governs with absolute sway and bends men and circumstances to one's purpose. It was, perhaps, this characteristic that marked him in council of war and gave him the appellation among the soldiers of "Mad Anthony," not a term of derision, but one indicating strength of will and purpose. It is related that when summoned to councils of war he usually sat apart and read "Tom Jones," or some interesting novel, while the officers discussed the proposed measures. When they had severally given their opinion the Commander-in-Chief would inquire of Wayne, "Well, general, what do you propose to do?" "Fight, sir," is said to have been the invariable response.

It was always his concern that the interests of the country should not suffer in his hands, and whether as a young brigadier stationed at the ford at Brandywine to oppose Knyphausen, or selected to lead the attack at Germantown, or at the head of a column at Monmouth to stay the British advance after the retreat had been ordered by Lee, or in the defense of Stony Point, the most important fortified point on the Hudson, which was committed to him after Arnold's treason had struck the army and the country with consternation, or whether entrusted with an independent command to drive out of Georgia a large British force, aided by several tribes of hostile Indians, or whether the Army of the United States was entrusted to his

command, after two disastrous defeats west of the Ohio, he courageously and fearlessly discharged his whole duty.

PUBLIC GRATITUDE OF HIS SERVICES.

If the love of glory was the master passion of General Wayne, as stated by one of his eulogists, then his sensitive nature must have been overwhelmed by plaudits and thanks both public and private. He was thanked by the Congress of the United States and awarded a gold medal for his successful assault on Stony Point, and among the many congratulatory letters from his brother officers were those of General Arthur St. Clair and General Lee, with whom he was not on friendly terms. The President of the United States conveyed to him expressions of the warmest approbation and the highest respect for his victory against the Indians of the Northwest, while the Congress, then in session, unanimously adopted resolutions highly complimentary to General Wayne and the whole army. His visit to Philadelphia in February, 1796, after the Treaty of Greenville, and an absence of more than three years, was a triumphal procession. He was met by three troop of the Philadelphia Light Horse four miles from the city and received a salute of artillery on crossing the Schuylkill. He was then conducted through the streets amidst the sound of martial music, the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannon and the acclamations of a grateful people. There was the highest evidence of the universal sense entertained of the important services he had rendered.

A STATELY SHAFT—A PATRIOTIC DUTY.

The grateful citizens of Edinboro have erected on Calton Hill, overlooking the Scottish Capital, a memorial of surpassing proportions, to commemorate Lord Nelson and the great victory of Trafalgar. The inscription recites that it is placed there, not so much to express their unavailing sorrow for his death, nor to celebrate the matchless glories of his life, but by his noble example to teach their sons to emulate what they admire, and when duty requires, like him, to die for their country.

In like spirit a stately shaft will rise at no distant day from this consecrated place, not only erected by a grateful and patriotic people to the memory of Anthony Wayne and the brave men who fought the battle of "Fallen Timbers," but to perpetuate as an example for the coming generations the story of their unselfish patriotism.

JOHN FITCH, INVENTOR OF STEAMBOATS.

BY MIRA CLARKE PARSONS.

By a coincidence of which the writer was not then aware, while the article* on the "Steamboat" was in type, the name of Robert Fulton was brought to public notice, for the purpose of bestowing further honors upon the memory of a great inventor.

The object of this paper is to offer additional proof of the validity of the prior claim of John Fitch, as the inventor and originator of steam navigation. While all due regard must be paid to Robert Fulton, it is only the part of generosity and justice to offer tribute to the master to whom he was indebted for the first idea of the invention which was to be productive of greater results than their wildest dreams had ever conceived.

The first patent right of employing steam as a means of navigation was granted John Fitch by the State of New Jersey, in 1786, as will be seen by the following communication, received in reply to an inquiry regarding it. The State Library of Ohio furnishes no copies of the laws of New Jersey previous to 1800.

TRENTON, N. J., Aug. 29, 1900.

My Dear Madame—The act granting certain rights and privileges to John Fitch was "Passed at Trenton, March 18, 1786. The title of the act is 'An act for granting and securing to John Fitch the sole right and advantage of making and employing the steamboat, by him lately invented, for a limited time.'"

The act granted to Fitch "of Bucks county, in the State of Pennsylvania, for and during the full end and term of fourteen years, from and after the present sessions of the legislature," the sole right of making and using boats "which may be urged or impelled through the water by the force of fire or steam, in all creeks, rivers, bays and waters whatsoever within the territory and jurisdiction of this State." The penalty for infringement was £100 and forfeiture of "all such boat, boats or watercraft, together with the steam engine, and all the appurtenances thereof."

Very truly yours,

HENRY C. BUCHANAN,
State Librarian.

* John Fitch, Inventor of Steamboats. Vol. VIII, page 397, Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications.

New York, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Virginia granted him the same rights the next year.*

The following is a copy of the act passed by New York. (In substance it may also be found in "Wheaton's Report," 9, 5.)

It was repealed eleven years after, for reasons which will be seen.

An act for granting and securing to John Fitch the sole right and advantage of making and employing for a limited time, the steamboat by him lately invented.

Passed the 19th of March, 1787.

WHEREAS, John Fitch, of Bucks county, in the State of Pennsylvania, hath represented to the legislature of this state, that he hath constructed an easy and expeditious method of impelling boats through the water by the force of steam, praying that an act may pass, granting to him, his executors, administrators and assigns, the sole and exclusive right of making, employing and navigating, all boats impelled by the force of steam or fire, within the jurisdiction of this State, for a limited time. Wherefore, in order to promote and encourage so useful an improvement and discovery, and as a reward for his ingenuity, application and diligence,

Be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the said John Fitch, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns shall be, and they are hereby vested with the sole and exclusive right and privilege of constructing, making, using, employing, and navigating, all and every species or kind of boats or water craft, which may be urged or impelled through the water by the force of fire or steam, in all creeks, rivers, bays and waters whatsoever, within the territory and jurisdiction of this State, for and during the full end and term of fourteen years, from and after the present session of the legislature.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons whomsoever, without being properly authorized, by him, the said John Fitch, his heirs, executors or administrators, shall make, use, employ or navigate any boat or water craft, which shall or may be urged, impelled, forced or driven through the water, by the force, power or agency of fire or steam as aforesaid, within the territory or jurisdiction of this State, every person or persons so offending, against the tenor,

* Documentary History of New York, p 104.

true intent and meaning of this act, for each and every such offense, shall forfeit and pay unto the said John Fitch, his heirs, executors or administrators, or to such other person or persons as he, the said John Fitch,, his heirs or assigns, shall authorize and empower for that purpose, the sum of one hundred pounds, to be recovered by action of debt in any court of record, within this state, wherein the same may be cognizable, with costs of suit; and shall also forfeit to him the said John Fitch, his heirs or assigns, all such boats or water craft, together with the steam engine, and all the appurtenances thereof, to be recovered in manner aforesaid, with costs of suit. Provided always,

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That neither this act, nor any clause, manner or thing therein contained, shall be taken, deemed or construed to prohibit or prevent any person or persons from making, using, employing or navigating, within this State, any kind of boats or water craft, heretofore invented, or hereafter to be invented, on any other principles, construction or model, which may be urged, impelled, or driven along through the water, by any other power, force, agency or means, except fire or steam.

(New York Laws, Vol. 2 (1785 to 1788 inclusive), pp. 472-473.)

An act repealing an act entitled "An act for granting and securing to John Fitch the sole right and advantage of making and employing the steamboat by him lately invented," and for other purposes.

Passed the 27th of March, 1798.

WHEREAS, It has been suggested to the people of this State represented in Senate and Assembly that Robert R. Livingston is possessor of a mode of applying the steam engine to propel a boat on new and advantageous principles, but that he is deterred from carrying the same into effect by the existence of a law entitled "An act for granting and securing to John Fitch the sole right and advantage of making and employing the steamboat by him lately invented," passed the nineteenth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, as well as by the uncertainty and hazard of a very expensive experiment unless he could be assured of the exclusive advantage of the same if on trial it should be found to succeed. And whereas, it is further suggested that the said John Fitch is either dead or hath withdrawn himself from this State without having made any attempt in the space of more than ten years for executing the

plan for which he so obtained an exclusive privilege, whereby the same is justly forfeited; therefore

Be it enacted by the people of the State of New York represented in Senate and Assembly, That the act aforesaid be and is hereby repealed. And to the end that Robert R. Livingston may be induced to proceed in an experiment which if successful promises important advantages to this State,

Be it further enacted, That privileges similar to those granted to the said John Fitch in and by the before mentioned act be and they hereby are extended to the said Robert for the term of twenty years from the passing of this act. Provided, nevertheless, that the said Robert shall, within twelve months from the passing of this act, give such proof as shall satisfy the governor, the lieutenant governor, and the surveyor general of this State, or a majority of them of his having built a boat of at least twenty tons capacity, which is propelled by steam, and the mean of whose progress through the water with and against the ordinary current of Hudson's river taken together shall not be less than four miles an hour and shall at no time omit for the space of one year to have a boat of such construction plying between the cities of New York and Albany.

(New York Laws, Vol. 4 (1797 to 1800, inclusive), pp. 215-216.)

Title of Delaware Act: "An act for granting and securing to John Fitch the sole and exclusive right and advantage of making, constructing and employing the steamboat by him lately invented, for a limited time."

Passed Feb. 3, 1787.

(Delaware Statutes, Vol. 2, p. 895.)

Title of Pennsylvania Act: "An act for granting and securing to John Fitch the sole right and advantage of employing the steamboat by him lately invented, for a limited time.

Passed March 28, 1787. Recorded in Law Book No. III, p. 213." (Laws of Pennsylvania, Vol. 3, p. 201.)

Virginia, Title of Act: "An act granting to John Fitch the exclusive privilege of constructing and navigating boats impelled by fire or steam, for a limited time.

Passed 7th of November, 1787."

Laws of Virginia, Vol. 12, p. 616.)

Further evidence of the priority of Fitch's claim over any others may be found in the "Documentary History of New

York," (Vol II, beginning on page 1039) in a copy of his pamphlet, "The Original Steamboat Supported."

This contains certificates from the governors of Maryland and Virginia, bearing date the same year in which his plan was conceived (1785) and testifying to the genuineness and expected value of the invention.

The object of the pamphlet was to vindicate his claim over Ramsey, a would-be inventor. This was long before the name of Robert Fulton was associated with the idea of steamboat navigation.

Opposite page 1039 in the "Documentary History" is a map of Collect Pond, evidently a later and improved edition of the one furnished by Mr. Whiting for the illustration in the April magazine.*

It is headed: "Honor to whom honor is due," and goes on to say:

"Origin of steam navigation. A view of Collect Pond and its vicinity in the city of New York in 1793, on which pond the first boat, propelled by steam, with paddle wheels or screw propellors, was constructed by John Fitch six years before Robert Fulton made trial of his boat upon the river Seine in France, and ten years prior to his puttting into operation his boat Clermont in New York; with a representation of the boat and its machinery, on the Collect pond. By John Hatchings."

The affidavits are the same as those on the other map. The illustrations include a drawing of "John Fitch's first boat, the 'Perseverance,' as seen on the Delaware, Phila., 1787. Speed, seven miles an hour," also one of the last model constructed at Bardstown, Ky., in 1797-8.

The testimony furnished by these sources is reliable beyond question, and seems amply sufficient to establish the claim of John Fitch to his self-styled title of "Inventor of Steamboats."

* Mr. A. N. Whiting, not I. N., as was inadvertently represented there.

COMMENTS, NOTES AND REVIEWS.

E. O. Randall

Editor

OTHER STATE SOCIETIES.

During the month of August last the Editor of the Quarterly enjoyed a tour of visitation to many of the State Historical Societies of the Eastern and Middle states. A stop of two or three days was made at Washington, D. C., where arrangements were perfected with the Publication Department, securing for our Library all government documents pertinent to the purposes and work of our Society. We were greatly delighted with repeated visits to the Archæological Department of the Smithsonian Institution and the new Congressional Library. The Congressional Library building, upon first view, is little less than overwhelming in its magnitude and magnificence. The building was erected at a cost to the Government of nearly $7,000,000, and we do not hesitate to say, from personal observation, that there is no Library edifice in architectural splendor, grandeur, size or adaptibility, in any of the European countries at all comparable to it. Surely the effete dynasties of the old world, time honored and lore decorated as they are, can no longer charge the young American Republic with being behind in the display of material and intellectual forces that make for the literary and scholarly advancement of the Nation. This triumphal temple of literature covers, within its walls, nearly four acres of ground, just twice the space occupied by the stately capitol building in Columbus. It has a present stack (shelf) provision for 2,000,000 books and an additional capacity for 2,500,000 more; 4,500,0000 in all. Its capacity is therefore twice that of the great library of France in Paris. and also of the library of the British Museum in London. We were flattered to learn from one of the Assistant Librarians that several more sets of the publications of our Society were required to meet the demands of the patrons of the Library; especially were they sought for and consulted by the Ohio members of Congress.

At Baltimore we became acquainted with the Maryland Historical Society, which occupies a large but inadequate building of its own. Its very extensive library is especially rich in the historical literature of the Southern and Colonial states. The Society issues each year a volume of historical data. The Society has no official relationship with the State government, though the latter each year makes an appropriation towards

the expense of the publications of the Society. Mr. Bernard C Steiner is the Librarian and moving spirit of the Society; he is also Librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.

Philadelphia, the city of "Brotherly Love," is a veritable center of historical, literary and scientific societies. There are some twenty of these which, to a greater or less extent, have the advantage of venerable age, large wealth, wide influence and national reputation. Prominent among these may be mentioned the American Philosophical Society, founded by Benjamin Franklin; the American Catholic Society, devoted to the accumulation of all material relative to the history of the Catholic Church in America; the Geographical Society; the American Academy of Political and Social Science; the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society; Scotch-Irish Society of America, and others, as the poet says, "too numerous to mention." Our interest, of course, was chiefly in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, possessing very valuable, but crowded quarters at 1300 Locust street. It boasts probably the most extensive historical Library of any of the state societies. The Library is specially rich in the literature of the early states, and in the department of American Geneaology and Biography. It also has accumulated a most extensive collection of autograph letters and unpublished manuscripts. It issues annually a volume of historical material under the editorship of Mr. J. W. Jordan, the Assistant Librarian. Though bearing the title of the State Society, and being recognized as such, it has no connection with the state government and receives no aid whatever therefrom. It is amply provided for by the membership fees and large income from the invested bequests which it has from time to time received.

Were it pertinent to our subject we should like to dwell for a time upon the Libraries of Philadelphia. We were particularly interested in the "Library Company of Philadelphia," founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731, and interesting not only because of its vast size and great age, but for the fact that it was the first circulating library in the United States. The Company is a private stock corporation, having two commodious buildings in different parts of the city, in which to the members and subscribers several hundred thousand books are accessible.

We were indebted to Prof. Stewart Culin for a few profitable hours in the Museum of Archæology and Paleontology, of which he is the Curator, and which, though occupying a costly and spacious separate building of its own, is a department of the University of Pennsylvania, upon the grounds of which it is located. Mr. Culin is a most enthusiastic and experienced archæologist, and has won merited renown in his department.

The State Historical Society of Delaware has its headquarters at Wilmington, and is probably the youngest of the Eastern state societies. It was founded in 1864. It has a library of some 30,000 books, housed in one of the historical old church buildings of the city. It is a private corporation and entirely independent of state authority, except

that each year the Legislature appropriates a few hundred dollars toward the expense of its publications.

The New Jersey Historical Society, located at Newark, N. J., has its abode in the second story of a business block, but expects in a short time to have ample and appropriate quarters of its own. It has acquired a library of some 70,000 volumes and is particularly well provided with files of the colonial and early state newspapers. This Society is also, though recognized as a state society, an independent organization, having no official connection with the state government, but it also receives each year, through the general assembly, appropriations in aid of its publications.

The New York Historical Society, 170 Second avenue, New York, like everything else of the Empire State, is a most prosperous and pretentious institution. It has the largest building of any state society, which it owns. The society is rich in the way of endowments and bequests, which yield it large income. It is, however, a private concern, having no connection with the state government and receiving no aid therefrom. The Library numbers 150,000 volumes. Like the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the New York Historical Society has a valuable museum of historical souvenirs, manuscripts, portraits, autograph letters, etc.

The metropolis of New York, like Philadelphia, is well provided with societies of historical and literary character; the Genealogical and Biographical Society being one particularly worthy of note. We reluctantly omit notices of the great city and college libraries.

The Massachusetts Historical Society occupies, in Boston, the most palatial home of any of the state societies, a recently erected, fire-proof, costly-constructed building, beautiful in external architecture and admirably arranged with every modern convenience and appliance for the care of the Society's property and the furtherance of its purposes. The Society is an independent organization, its membership being limited by its charter to the number of one hundred. It bears no relation to the state authorities and receives no aid from them. It does not require this, for the Society is wealthy in property and resources. It has a very extensive and elegantly kept library, accessible only to members of the Society, or others who are admitted by card to the reading rooms.

We can not leave the literary attractions of the Hub, numerous as they are, without making mention of the Boston Public Library, now established in its new spacious and splendid building, second only in architecture and area to the Congressional Library at Washington. This Library contains 600,000 books, and in its branches and stations in various parts of the city has some 200,000 more. The value of their buildings, equipments and books is more than $5,000,000. The annual income of the Library, derived from private donations and municipal appropriations, amounts to some $300,000.

At the Harvard University we were heartily welcomed by the good

friend of our Society, Prof. F. W. Putnam, the distinguished Professor of Ethnology and Archæology, and Curator of the Peabody Museum. It will be recalled that it was Prof. Putnam who was, so to speak, the modern discoverer of the Serpent Mound, he being the first one to take an interest in its restoration and preservation, and to whose friendly influence we are indebted for the prospective possession of the same. Prof. Putnam complimented the work of our Society in the line of archæology under the direction of Mr. W. C. Mills.

While in Boston we permitted ourselves to indulge in the customary and pardonable (there) New England pride of ancestry, paying our reverential respects to Old South Meeting-House, in the pulpit of which, in the eventful days of our forefathers, our direct ancestor, as the geneaologists say, "on our paternal side," the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton expounded the good old theology and stirring patriotism of the times.

The picturesque, hilly city of Providence harbors the Rhode Island Historical Society. It occupies a building well suited to its purpose immediately facing the campus of Brown University, and located in close proximity to the College Library building. Like nearly all the others heretofore mentioned, the Society is a distinct organization with no affiliation with the state authorities, except at times it receives a small appropriation towards the expense of its historical publications. It has a large Library and an interesting Museum of Antiquities. It is a popular adjunct to the university, and in its valuable and sympathetic co-operation with that institution of learning strongly argues the propriety of such relationship.

Providence also presents a new and elegant Library, completed but a few months ago. The Providence Public Library, perhaps ranking next to the one in Boston in the completeness of its appointments, presenting all the latest modern features of a Public Library, such as juvenile, music, map, reference, standard literature, and special study rooms.

The Connecticut Historical Society, at Hartford, has quarters in spacious rooms connecting with the City Public Library building. Indeed, in its work this Society is really an annex of the Hartford City Library. They co-operate in expense and in their service to the public. This society is also independent and practically self-supporting through membership fees and an income from bequests. It also at times receives slight assistance from the state in issuing its publications. Mr. Albert C. Bates is the courteous and experienced librarian.

We were not surprised to find that the Chicago Historical Society, which is really, and as such is acknowledged, the Illinois State Historical Society, to be second to none of the eastern societies which we had inspected. The Chicago Historical Society has a very extensive, fire-proof, stone building, costing in the neighborhood of $200,000. Mr. Charles Evans, the Secretary and Librarian, is an accomplished scholar, especially in the history of the Northwest Territory, and through his indefatigable efforts the Society has reached an enviable degree of pros-

perity. The Society is entirely independent and receives no State aid, but is wealthy and through private beneficence is enabled to continue its valuable work, its function being, not as its name might imply, to merely collect and preserve the historical data of Chicago, but to comprise in its collections all that pertains to the history and growth of Illinois and the states of the Northwest Territory. It has a Library of 150,000 books and a gallery of rare paintings and historical relics.

The Historical Society of Wisconsin, located at Madison, is the ideal and model institution of its kind. The state of Wisconsin is abreast of all other states, certainly in the west, in its generous and wise patronage of the educational and intellectual interests of its people. Recognizing the broad and efficient work of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the state government placed its state library under the control of the state society, making Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites State Librarian and Chief of the united library interests. It then appropriated some $600,000 for the erection of a library building, situated very appropriately on the College Campus of the University of Wisconsin. At the time of our visit the books were being transferred from the State House, in the center of the city, to the new building. This building, it is unnecessary to say, is a most imposing structure, comprising library, reading, lecture, museum, reference, photograph rooms, and rooms for special students and library societies. Mr. Thwaites, in the work which he has accomplished for the society and for the state of Wisconsin, and indeed in the interest of American history and literature and library advancement, has attained an international reputation. The work which he has persuaded his state government to perform presents an admirable object lesson for our good friends in the Ohio legislature.

If we were called upon for any summary conclusion resulting from our most profitable and pleasurable trip, we would say that all of the state societies which we visited surpass ours in the extent and value of their libraries, and most of them far exceed ours in the quarters and facilities afforded for their work, though these facilities, as we have separately designated, are more often the result of private benefactions than of state aid. Our society is certainly superior to these we have seen, and probably to all others in the country, in the line of its archæological pursuits, this being due mainly, we must admit, to the very great resources which Ohio presents in this subject. Our archæological museum is a unique feature in state society work. Again, with the exception of Wisconsin, our state government has been perhaps the most generous in its assistance given annually to our society, and through this means our publications have reached a larger field and exerted a wider influence among special students and the general reading public, than the publications of any of the State Historical Societies.

We believe we have reached the proper stage of our growth when our state government must see the propriety, indeed the necessity, of our having a building devoted exclusively to our use. This we trust is

not far off. Indeed, is not the time ripe at the present moment for the erection of such a building on the part of the legislature, as a memorial edifice to mark the centennial anniversary of the establishment of our state. This would come now with all the more opportune appropriateness, as the centennial celebration, which was to have been held at Toledo, has been abandoned.

PERRY'S WILLOW.

It is our duty to record that the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society has been deprived of the glory of an achievement which it had in contemplation. We refer to the anticipated erection of a monument over the grave of the heroes of Perry's Victory on the Island of Put-in-Bay. It will be recalled that a few days after the surrender of Commodore Barkley's fleet (September 10, 1813) a vessel hailing from the

BURIAL PLACE OF THE HEROES OF PERRY'S VICTORY.

settlement upon which is now located the town of Vermillion, arrived laden with supplies for the American squadron. While anchored off shore the master of the vessel visited the island where were interred the slain officers of both fleets.* In his hand, it is said, he carried a walking stick cut from a green Willow. The earth which formed the mound over the lowly grave was still fresh, and into the yielding sur-

*See Sketches and Story of the Lake Erie Islands, by Theresa Thorndale.

face he imbedded the shoot. It took root and grew unto the stately tree which, until lately, marked the historic place. Some years ago the United States government presented to the citizens of the island and shipped to its shores, several large cannon which had seen service in the American Rebellion or earlier wars. These for many years lay upon the beach, and naught marked the grave but the venerable and massive willow, upon which the ravages of age and decay were rapidly making their mark. In the summer of a year ago (1899) the editor of the Quarterly, in company with Judge James H. Anderson, Col. J. T. Holmes and Hon. D. J. Ryan, all members of our Society, were visitors upon the island in attendance upon the annual meeting of the Ohio Bar Association. The sight of the neglected grave and the cannon half buried in the sand, lead to the suggestion that our Society might fittingly visit the island the succeeding year (1900), upon the anniversary of Perry's Victory, and erect with the cannon a fitting memorial to the resting place of the famous heroes. With that view the editor held conferences with several of the leading citizens of the island, particularly Mr. G. H. Beebe and Mr. V. Doller, the latter one of the town trustees, whose duty it was to care for and preserve this grave. They expressed hearty sympathy with our idea and earnest willingness to co-operate. We had in view in furtherance of this plan, the obtaining of financial aid from the state, but the matter was allowed to go in abeyance until too late to formulate any program for this summer (1900).

In the month of July past, the editor again, as a member of the Ohio Bar Association, paid a visit to the island, and was surprised, though no less pleased, to find that the plan had been carried out, and that the old naval guns had been raised from their watery lodging place and mounted upon stone embrasures, in a line in front of the grave, and covering at intervals a space of several hundred feet along the water's edge, giving the effect of a war-like defense to the sepulchre of the British and American sailors. Upon that spot was located a monument consisting of a stone base supporting a pyramid of cannon balls, but sad to relate the old willow tree was gone. It had been cut down and removed. As we stood contemplating the innovation, and to a certain extent improvement, we accidentally met an old weather-beaten tar serving on one of the boats temporarily moored at the dock. As we spoke of the change and the lost opportunity to our society to participate in the commemoration of the great victory, he related that he was one Jacob Merkley, that he formerly lived in Kentucky, and that in 1860 there were gathered at this grave several of the surviving sailors who particpated in Perry's Victory. He was with them at that strange and noteworthy reunion and they clearly and unmistakably identified the old willow as marking the spot where their compatriots and foes who lost their lives in that battle, were buried. So that the chain of evidence seems conclusive that the old willow stood faithful sentry nearly a century over the heroes whose very bones nourished her protecting branches.

But it is to be regretted that the old willow was not permitted to stand and shed her shade, feeble as it might be, over the grave of the brave until the elements should also relegate her noble form to the same mother earth.

But the brave heroes lie in peaceful rest

"Near the lake where drooped the willow,
Long time ago."

We have received and read with great pleasure "An Historical Account of the Settlement of Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1872, together with notice of Highland Regiments and Biographical Sketches, by J. P. MacLean, Ph. D." Mr. MacLean is the Librarian of the Western Reserve Historical Society, of Cleveland, Ohio, and the author of several books upon historical and archæological subjects. He is a most entertaining and scholarly writer, in ardent sympathy with his subject. The book contains some 500 pages with illustrations. Dr. MacLean saw that the illustrious doings of other nationalities engaged in the American Revolution had been duly exploited by other authors, and he naturally felt that the Gael who early sought the shores of the new world and struggled with the pioneer patriot, should also have an historian and memorialist. He graphically describes the chivalrous and sturdy Highlanders of Scotland, their characteristics, their clans, their traditions and history. He deals at some length with the Scotch settlement in Ireland and the latter Scotch-Irish emigration to America. He does full justice to the place which these noble and valiant people had in the American Revolution. He makes the remarkable statement that at the outbreak of the Revolution, the thirteen colonies numbered among their inhabitants not less than 800,000 Scotch and Scotch-Irish, or a little more than one-fourth of the entire population. Certainly no other foreign nation was so largely represented, or so potent in the American ranks, as the people of which Dr. MacLean is the proud descendant. The book is a most valuable addition to American history, and peculiarly attractive to all readers who delight in the story of the struggle of the young American Republic for independence.

"The Old Northwest," Genealogical Quarterly, Columbus, Ohio, published by the Old Northwest Genealogical Society of this city, is always a welcome guest at our desk, as it is our nearest literary neighbor, and in some sense a co-operator in the historical and biographical work which our Society and Quarterly is attempting to do. The western man, until recently, has insisted that he was too busy to look after his ancestry, and too materialistic in his pursuits to find and profit in the possession of a family chart. He left that to his New England relations,

who have more leisure for and greater pride in, such matters. But even the western man is beginning to look after his origin and take notes thereon, if not for the benefit of himself, then for his inquisitive posterity. The growth of genealogical, patriotic, and especially American Revolution Societies, has given a great impulse to the study of family heredity. The Old Northwest Genealogical Society has for its main purpose the promotion of this study and the dissemination of knowledge in that department. The editor of the Old Northwest Quarterly is Dr. Lucius Carroll Herrick. He is an enthusiast in this work and the Quarterly, under his direction, is admirably conducted.

Of the numerous publications devoted to the interests of the Societies of the American Revolution, sons, daughters, children, etc., and to the historical period of the War for Independence, "The American Monthly Magazine," published by the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., deserves large patronage. The editor is Mrs. Elroy M. Avery, of Cleveland, Ohio, wife of the Hon. Elroy M. Avery, Trustee of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society. The American Monthly Maga ine may be obtained for a subscription price of $1.00 by addressing Miss Lillian Lockwood, Business Manager, 902 F St., Washington, D. C.

In these days of stirring events for our country, and when history is being rapidly made in divers quarters of the world, the monthly known as "Current History" (Boston, Mass.), has become almost a necessity to the reader who wishes to keep abreast of the times in reliable information. In a concise and comprehensive manner it is a record of the important daily doings of the world. The progress of the wars in China, Africa and the Philippine Islands, are closely and satisfactorily followed. The numbers for August and September, 1900, are particularly entertaining.

Hon. O. T. Corson, formerly State School Commissioner for Ohio, is exerting a widespread and salutary influence among the teachers of our public schools through the "Ohio Educational Monthly," of which he is the editor and proprietor. He was honored the past year with the Presidency of the National Educational Association, which held its annual meeting in July at Charleston, S. C. One of the interesting features of the Monthly for the current year is the series of articles by Prof. Frank B. Pearson on the geography and history of Ohio.

Among the many publications for the benefit of Bible students and teachers, "Our Bible Teacher for Sunday Schools and Families,"

especially commends itself. It is published monthly at Dayton, Ohio, by the United Brethren Publishing House, and it is edited by H. A. Thompson, D.D, LL. D., and Robert Cowden, Lit. D.

Several of the leading magazines, as well as many of our exchanges, have noted in a complimentary way the progress of our Quarterly, and especially the establishment of the editorial department.

THE ORIGIN, DESCRIPTION AND SERVICE OF FORT WINCHESTER,

With Mention of Some of the Persons and Events Connected With It.

BY CHARLES E. SLOCUM, M. D., PH. D., DEFIANCE, O.

From the earliest record until the building of the Miami and Erie and the Wabash and Erie Canals along its course, the Maumee River was known to be a great thoroughfare; and we have good right to infer that the Aborigines, from their first appearance in this region until the historic times, made its shores and waters their principal course between the western shores of Lake Erie and the Ohio river, both by way of the Miami and the Wabash.

The high point at the junction of the Auglaize River with the Maumee was recognized by General Anthony Wayne at first view, in 1794, as the proper place for Fort Defiance,—a point where he could safely bid defiance to all foes; and the usually defiant Indians never ventured for its capture.

At the time of the first passing this way of the Ohio and United States troops, of the Army of the Northwest in the beginning of the War of 1812, this point was again fortified and, being situate midway in the Maumee Valley, it served as a most important post for observation and for supplies.

The Indians had long been troublesome to Americans settling in this Northwest country and, after the Battle of Tippecanoe, Indiana, November 7, 1811, became still more active in their aggressiveness under the incitements of the British and the able Tecumseh whose avowed design was to drive out or exterminate those settlers. At the time of the declaration of the second war against Great Britian June 18, 1812, Fort Wayne was the only fortification on the Maumee River. This Fort had been seriously threatened by the Indians, but they were loth to assail it from without. Several ineffectual feints and subterfuges

were made by them to peaceably get within its stockades and thus make its capture easier by surprising the garrison. These efforts failing, more active measures were adopted, also without success.

After the humiliating and disastrous surrender of Detroit by Gen. William Hull, August 16, 1812, Fort Wayne was the only fortification in and north of its latitude in the Northwest that was left to the United States. The British were anxious to add all this territory to their Canadian possessions, and expeditions against Fort Wayne were despatched from Canada for this purpose. Reports of these plans with details were communicated to the Fort by a friendly Frenchman, and from there were transmitted to General William H. Harrison who received them at Piqua September 6, 1812. With his characteristic decision and energy he at once ordered his command forward to the relief of that garrison of seventy or eighty men. This relieving army was reinforced at St. Mary and Shane's Crossing until it numbered about three thousand and five hundred troops. They arrived at Fort Wayne Saturday morning, September 10th, having advanced with great caution and with but little advance-line skirmishing with the enemy, to the great joy of the garrison, which had lost three men during the siege. The enemy investing the Fort, principally Indians estimated at about 1,500 in number, prudently retired on the approach of the army. Troops were sent in different directions to dislodge the foe from camps and villages; and lurking places within a long range of the Fort were cleared away.

September 19th General Winchester arrived at Fort Wayne to take command of the entire army. James Winchester was born at White Level (now Westminster), Md., February 6, 1752. He was appointed Lieutenant in the Third Maryland Regiment May 27, 1778, and served in the Continental Army until captured by the British some time later. He was exchanged December 22, 1780. Soon thereafter he removed to Sumner County, Tennessee, where he was married. He there attained to a good property, and maintained a liberal establishment on a large estate. He was commissioned Brigadier General in the United States Army March 27, 1812. After the surrender of General

Hull General Winchester was directed by the Secretary of War to take charge of the Army of the Northwest. With commendable promptitude he started northward. Upon entering Ohio he wrote a letter to the Governor, of which the following is a copy:

CINCINNATI, September 9, 1812.

SIR:—I am thus far on my way to assume the command of the army on your Northwestern frontier. I shall leave this place to-morrow for Piqua, where I shall be extremely glad to see you, in order to consult with you relative to the best possible means of protecting the exposed frontier of the State of Ohio, without losing sight, at the same time, of Upper Canada. I am authorized by the Secretary of War to call on your excellency for reinforcements of militia. On this subject, also, a personal interview is desirable.

Should it, however, be inconvenient to you, sir, to meet me at Piqua, or at some other place on my route, you will be good enough to communicate to me in writing your ideas on the subject of the protection of your frontier inhabitants, as well as the extent of militia you can furnish upon my requisition.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration,

Your obedient servant,

J. WINCHESTER,

Brigadier General U. S. Army.

To His Excellency, R. J. Meigs, Governor of the State of Ohio.

General Winchester proceeded northward with a small detachment of troops, and followed in the trail of the relief army to Fort Wayne. He was received by Gen. Harrison with due deference, and the command of the army was at once given over to him. This act of General Harrison was a complete exhibition of the ready obedience of the true soldier to his superior officer under very trying conditions. He had been an efficient aid to Gneral Wayne in his successes against the Indians in the Northwest Territory; later, he served as Secretary of the Territory; and he held the office of the first Governor of Indiana Trritory, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, during the last eleven years. No man knew this frontier region and the Indians better than he from long personal experience. He had met the different tribes in thirteen important treaties and they, so far as in them lay, acknowledged his ability and his fairness. He had found it necessary to administer to them a severe chastisement in the Battle of

Tippecanoe. The soldiers of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky knew his wisdom and his bravery and they had entire confidence in him and wanted him as their commander. The Governors of Ohio and Kentucky were of like mind and had commissioned him accordingly, Governor Scott's commission being as Major General, brevet, of Kentucky troops. Notwithstanding all this Gen. Harrison at once accepted as his ranking officer a stranger to the soldiers, to the wilderness country, to the ways of the Indians and to the condition of affairs. He did this September 19th and immediately, upon issuing such order to the troops, started on his way to Piqua to take charge of the forces being there collected to reinforce the desired expedition for the recapture of Detroit. September 5th Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky, addressed a letter to William Eustis, Secretary of War, suggesting a Board of War for this western country, recommending Gen. Harrison as commander in chief, and referring to the evils that would result from his continuing Gen. Winchester. Mr. Eustis replied under date of September 17, favoring these suggestions, and stating that General Harrison would at once be given chief command accordingly. This was two days before Gen. Harrison gave over the command to Gen. Winchester and left Fort Wayne, but neither of them were apprised of the fact for some length of time. The soldiers were much displeased at the loss of their former commander, but no serious outbreak was then threatened.

General Winchester encamped the troops at the junction of the Rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary, outside Fort Wayne, and despatched the following letter:

HEADQUARTERS, FORT WAYNE, September 22, 1812.

SIR:—I had the honor last night of receiving your excellency's despatch of the 16th instant, covering a communication from General Wadsworth, for which I beg you will accept my sincere thanks. With you, I rejoice at the prospect of regaining lost territory, and at the determination of the President on a vigorous course of measures; and I still hope to winter in Detroit or its vicinity the ensuing season.

To enable me, in part, to effect this purpose, I avail myself of the authority given me by the Secretary of War, to call upon your excellency for such reinforcements as I may deem necessary. You will please to furnish two regiments of infantry to join me at the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake [Maumee], about the 10th or 15th of October next, well

clothed for a fall campaign. Arms and ammunition can be drawn from Newport, Kentucky. It is extremely desirous to me that no time may be lost in supplying this requisition. The cold season is fast approaching, and the stain on the American character at Detroit not yet wiped away.

If you could furnish one regiment to rendezvous at Piqua, and proceed to open and improve the road, by causeways, etc., to Defiance, it would greatly facilitate the transportation of supplies to this army, which is imperatively requisite to its welfare. This latter regiment might then return, or proceed on after the army, as circumstances should dictate.

I have the honor to be, with high respect,

Your obedient servant,

J. WINCHESTER,
Brigadier General U. S. Army.

To His Excellency, Return J. Meigs, Governor of the State of Ohio.

On this same day, the soldiers to accompany him, about two thousand in number, having been equipped for the march, he started down the north bank of the Maumee river along the route of approach of General Anthony Wayne eighteen years before, after issuing the following:

GENERAL ORDERS.

CAMP FORKS OF THE MAUMEE, September 22, 1812.

Order of March:

The front guard in three lines, two deep in the road, and in Indian files on the flanks at distances of fifty and one hundred yards, as the ground will admit. A fatigue party to consist of one captain, one ensign, two sergeants, and two corporals, with fifty men, will follow the front guard for the purpose of opening the road. The remainder of the infantry to march on the flanks in the following order: Colonel Wells and Allen's regiments on the right, and Lewis and Scott's on the left. The general and brigade baggage, commissaries and quartermasters' stores, immediately in the rear of the fatigue party. The cavalry in the following order: Captain Garrard and twenty of his men to precede the guard in front, and equally divided at the head of each line; a lieutenant and eighteen men in the rear of the whole army and baggage; the balance of the cavalry equally divided on the flanks or the flank lines. The regimental baggage wagons will fall according to the respective ranks of their commanding officers. The officers commanding corps previous to their marching will examine carefully the arms and ammunition of their respective corps, and see that they are in good order. They will also be particularly careful, that the men do not waste their cartridges. No loaded muskets are to be put in the wagons. One half of

the fatigue party is to work at a time, and the others will carry their arms. The wagon master will attend to loading the wagons, and see that the various articles are put in, in good order, and that each wagon and team carry a reasonable load. The hour of march will be 9 o'clock this morning. The officer of the day is charged with this order. The line of battle will be the same as that of General Harrison in his last march to Fort Wayne.

J. WINCHESTER,
Brig., Gen., Commanding.

These precautions were well taken, as bodies of Indians were several times encountered and dispersed with loss on both sides. They were not only those who had been surrounding Fort Wayne, but, also, the advance guards of an army marching against Fort Wayne, composed of two hundred British Regular troops and Canadian militia, with artillery, under Major Muir, and one thousand or more Indians under the notorious Colonel Elliott. A report, received at Piqua, that this army was about to start from Malden, Canada, decided General Harrison to hasten to the protection of Fort Wayne. These forces had brought their artillery and other heavier equipment by boats as far as the ruins of Fort Defiance, and continued up the south bank of the Maumee river on foot. They had advanced about twelve miles above Fort Defiance when their spies captured, and took before Major Muir, Sergeant M'Coy, one of General Winchester's spies who exaggerated the strength of the American army, and reported that it was soon to be reinforced by like numbers under Colonel Jennings, coming down the Auglaize river, which would cut off the retreat of the British. This report being soon corroborated by the British spies and his defeated advance lines, influenced Major Muir to at once order a retreat down the Maumee on learning further that many of his Indian allies had deserted. To facilitate the speed of their boats they threw into the river one cannon, at least, with part of their heavy ammunition. This cannon and ammunition were thrown into deep water of the Maumee nearly opposite the mouth of Sulphur Glen, about one-half mile below Fort Defiance point; and they were removed from the water and used by the advancing Americans. General Winchester advanced carefully, and fearing that the enemy would oppose his crossing Tiffin river, he

crossed to the south side of the Maumee four and a half miles above the Tiffin, and about six miles above the mouth of the Auglaize. Here he struck the trail of the retreating enemy, with tracks of their artillery, but his spies did not learn their location. Four mounted squads were dispatched in different directions, one to notify General Harrison of the enemy, and the others to determine the enemy's location. These parties soon reported that the opposing force had fled many miles down the river, leaving some mounted Indians to watch the movements of the Americans. General Winchester advanced and, September 30th, fortified a camp on the high south bank of the Maumee river about one and a half miles above Fort Defiance, and opposite the mouth of Tiffin river. The brush had grown so thick and high since General Wayne's clearing here eighteen years before, that it entailed much labor to clear the desired ground across to the Auglaize river and to the Fort point.

General Harrison received his commission of appointment to succeed General Winchester September 24th, while at Piqua. On the 30th General Winchester's despatch regarding the enemy was received; and within a few minutes a letter was received from Governor Meigs also informing him of the strong British forces opposing General Winchester. There were at this time about three thousand troops at St. Marys, and General Harrison at once started for that place and upon his arrival there immediately started the army toward Fort Defiance, notwithstanding the drenching rain. On the morning of October 2nd a messenger met him from General Winchester bearing the news that the enemy had retreated. Nearly all the troops were, therefore, ordered to return, and Colonel Poague's regiment was directed to open a roadway through the forest from Fort Jennings to Defiance. General Harrison continued forward with a small force, and with some pack-horse loads of supplies, arriving at General Winchester's camp in the evening of October 2nd. Here he found a sad state of affairs. The food supplies had become very short, and the men were suffering from insufficient clothing. They had become disheartened, had murmured, and were talking about returning to their homes, which they would probably have done but for the efforts of Major Hardin and

Colonel Allen. The supplies brought by General Harrison gave them a better breakfast, and his presence brought new cheer. The army was paraded and there was read the following:

GENERAL ORDERS.

CAMP AT DEFIANCE, October 3, 1812.

I have the honor of announcing to this army the arrival of General Harrison, who is duly authorized by the executive of the Federal Government to take command of the Northwestern Army. This officer is enjoying the implicit confidence of the States from whose citizens this army is and will be collected, and possessing himself, great military skill and reputation, the General is confident in the belief that his presence in the army, in the character of its chief, will be hailed with unusual approbation.

J. WINCHESTER,
Brigadier General U. S. Army.

Major Hardin and Colonel Allen addressed the army "in very affecting terms," and General Harrison "spoke to them as a father would to his children." The arrivals and the addresses renewed the spirits of the soldiers, and the imparting of the fact that General Harrison had been appointed chief in command went still further to change the resolves of the disaffected ones and bring about a settled state of feeling among all the men to endure all hardships.

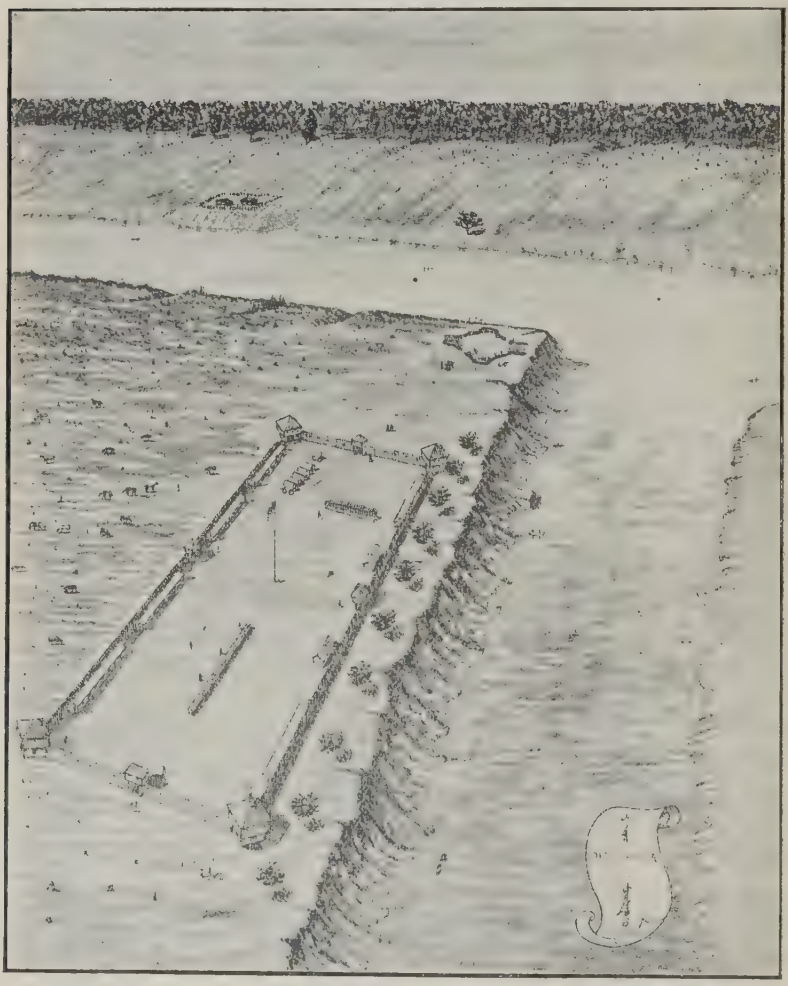
New plans were entered upon. They found General Wayne's Fort Defiance in ruins; and had it remained in good condition its small size would have been inadequate for the demands at this time. Fort Defiance included within its stockades scarcely 10,000 square feet, or less than one-quarter acre of ground. General Harrison selected a site for a new fort to embrace over twelve times this area. A fatigue force of two hundred and fifty men were detailed under Major Joseph Robb with axes to cut timber for the buildings and stockades, and the work went forward as fast as the weakened condition of the men and the weather admitted. The camp was removed from the Maumee river one mile southeast to the high bank of the Auglaize about one and a half miles above its mouth. A line of trees was felled across this neck of land between the new camp and the former one, to serve as breastworks for the army's out-

post guarding the entire peninsula between the rivers. General Harrison, accompanied by Colonel Richard M. Johnson and his original battalion, returned to St. Marys where these troops were honorably discharged October 7th.

The feelings of General Winchester upon being succeeded in command, have not been fully recorded. General Harrison treated him with great consideration, assigning him to the command of the left wing of the army, to include the U. S. regular soldiers and some six regiments of Ohio and Kentucky militia. As further evidence of respect and honor, the new fort was duly christened Fort Winchester. This Fort was completed by the soldiers working with short rations, thinly clad, and with much suffering from inclement weather; but it was favorably started on its mission as an important stronghold for the defense of the territory of the upper rivers, as a rendezvous for troops and, later, for the storing of supplies to be boated down the Maumee river as wanted by the advancing troops. For some length of time it was the only obstruction to the British and the Indians against their incursions into northwestern Ohio. From the time of its establishment the Indians made wide detours from the guns of its garrison, thus being forced to a disadvantage on their way to Malden, Detroit, and the siege of Fort Meigs the following year.

Fort Winchester was styled a "beautiful fort" by William Atherton who was present during its construction. It was built along the higher and precipitous west bank of the Auglaize River, a line of apple trees, planted by the early French settlers, alone intervening. Beginning about eighty rods south of the ruins of Fort Defiance, near the present First Street of the city of Defiance, Ohio, the fort extended southward to, or south of, Third Street, a distance of something over six hundred feet, and including the highest ground. Its east line was about Washington Street. It was in the form of a parallelogram, and extended in width to about Jefferson Street. Its walls included three acres or more of land. There was a strong two-story blockhouse at each of its four corners, a large gate midway of each side and end with a sentinel house above each one, and all were connected by a strong stockade of timbers set on end deep into the ground

snug together, and extending twelve to fifteen feet above ground, all pointed at the upper ends. A cellar was excavated under the blockhouse at the northeast corner, and from it a passage way under ground was made to the rock-bed of the river and was



FORT WINCHESTER.

From Personal Interviews With Persons who Saw It, from Studies, and from Surveys, By DR. CHAS. E. SLOCUM.

there protected by timbers so that abundance of water could be obtained from the river under cover. The only ditching done was for drainage.

Before the departure of Gen. Harrison he suggested that Gen. Tupper, with all the mounted men, about eight hundred in number, be sent down the Maumee to the Grand Rapids. He also suggested that two regiments of infantry be sent southward to be near the base of food and clothing supplies. Indian ambuscades, and insubordination of Gen. Tupper followed the departure of the Commander-in-chief. Short rations were still necessary. Five soldiers who had strayed somewhat from their duty to gather wild plums were killed and scalped. Indians also fired on the soldiers on the opposite bank of the river from the camp, killing one. This caused an alarm call to arms, but the enemy escaped punishment. Scouting parties met the Indians and suffered wounds, and an occasional death. General Tupper was ordered to proceed down the river with the cavalry, but he refused to obey; finally he started for Fort M'Arthur, from which place he marched to the Rapids in November, mention of which unwise movement will be made later in this article. Charges were preferred against Gen. Tupper by General Winchester. Gen. Harrison ordered his arrest, but the trial did not occur until the next year, after the defeat at the Raisin River when the witnesses were captives with the British, and he was acquitted. The time of enlistment of two or three companies of Riflemen having expired, they were discharged and returned to their homes. Comparative quiet now reigned in the camp, and some carelessness regarding discipline was noted. On the 8th of October, a young man, was found asleep at his post as guard. He was sentenced by court-martial to be shot. A platoon was ordered to take places before the paraded army and facing the prisoner who, blindfolded, was on his knees preparing for the order to fire! A great stillness pervaded the army. Just as the suspense was at its height a courier arrived with an order from the General changing the sentence (Atherton, an eye witness). This sentence of death produced a profound effect upon the soldiers. It was their first real view of the sternness of military discipline, and they recognized its necessity and justness while in the country of the stealthy and savage

enemy. Later, as the Indians became less annoying, hunting for wild game was permitted, and soon everything was killed, not even a squirrel could be found in the vicinity of the camp.

Fort Winchester was completed October 15, 1812, as shown by the following letter:

CAMP DEFIANCE, MOUTH OF THE AUGLAIZE, October 15, 1812.

SIR:—Captain Wood, commanding a small party of spies, came into camp yesterday, and reports that he was detached from Urbana to visit the Rapids, etc.; that he fell in with other spies who had just returned from that place, and had obtained all the information that he possibly could. I therefore have directed him to return and report, deeming it unnecessary that he should proceed, as the information required had been obtained, and being desirous, too, to communicate to your excellency that this army could immediately march and take possession of the Rapids, if supplies of provisions, etc., could certainly reach us in a few days after our arrival. Many days' provisions could not be carried with us, because it is not here. Neither have we the means of transportation, and it is important that the corn at that place should be saved if it could be done.

At this place a picketed post with four blockhouses, two storehouses and a house for the sick, will be finished this day. Then I shall turn my attention to building pirogues for the purpose of transporting heavy baggage and provisions down the river, and anxiously wait your answer with relation to supplies. I shall remain in readiness to march as soon as it is received.

If General Harrison is at Urbana, you will communicate the contents of this letter to him. If I knew where he could be found, I should address a letter to him on the subject.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

J. WINCHESTER,

Brigadier General U. S. Army.

To His Excellency, Return J. Meigs, Governor of the State of Ohio.

Soon after the completion of Fort Winchester, and the choosing a garrison for it, the main army established a camp, designated on the writer's map as Camp H, on the level ground and protected from west and north winds, on the north bank of the Maumee River one mile and a half below the mouth of the Auglaize. With continued short rations, delay in receipt of winter clothing and the increasing severity of the weather, the sufferings and sickness of the soldiers were increasing, and this change of camp was

made for sanitary reasons and that they might be more convenient to abundance of fuel. The location of Camp H proving too wet, the army soon took up dryer quarters two miles further down the river. This new Camp J also showing unfavorable features, still another site, Camp No. 3, was chosen nearly two miles below Camp J where the site proved favorable, with abundance of good firewood; and where the army remained about eight weeks. These five camps including those near Fort Winchester, witnessed as much suffering as an army is capable of enduring. Hunger impelled many breaches of discipline. Soldiers wandered from camp, against orders, in search of game and wild fruit. One man started to desert. He was caught and sentenced "to ride the wooden horse before the whole army." This consisted in his striding a bent sapling and being subjected to a series of tossings and joltings, to the great amusement of the soldiers. It was found necessary to punish other breaches of discipline; and that we may get glimpses of the life and experiences of Fort Winchester and its camps, including sentences, there is here given a copy of

SPECIAL ORDERS.

CAMP WINCHESTER, October 28, 1812.

————— —————, private in Captain Croghan's Company, charged with sitting down near his post, apparently asleep, with his gun out of his hands, last night, October 25th, 1812, found guilty, and sentenced to receive ten cobs on his bare posterior, well laid on, with a paddle four inches wide and one-half an inch thick, bored full of holes.

————— —————, charged with altering his uniform without leave, sentenced to a reprimand on parade.

J. WINCHESTER, *Brig. Gen'l.*

Sickness increased. The rations were constantly short, and often for many days consisted solely of beef without salt, and hickory nuts. The beef was of very poor quality, the cattle being greatly reduced, like the soldiers, from want of food, and the cold. To cheer the discouraged army by renewing hope, there were issued the following

GENERAL ORDERS.

FORT WINCHESTER, November 1, 1812.

With great pleasure the General announces to the army the prospect of an early supply of winter clothing, amongst which are the following articles, shipped from Philadelphia on the 9th September last: 10,000 pairs of shoes, 5,000 blankets, 5,000 round jackets, 5,000 pairs pantaloons, woolen cloth to be made up, besides the under clothing for Colonel Wells' regiment, 100 watch coats, 5,000 blankets, and 10,000 yards of flannel, 10,000 pairs shoes, 10,000 pairs wool socks, 10,000 of wool hose.

This bountiful supply evinces the constant attention of the government to the comforts of its armies, although the immense distance this wing hath been detached into the wilderness, has prevented its receiving those comforts in due season, owing to causes not within the control of human foresight, yet a few days and the General consoles himself with the idea of seeing those whom he has the honor to command clad in warm wollen capable of resisting the northern blasts of Canada, either from the bellows of Boreas or the muzzles of British cannon.

J. WINCHESTER, *Brig. Gen.,*
Commanding Left Wing N. W. Army.

These promised supplies of clothing came not to this Fort, nor its Camp. Sickness found the weakened and shivering soldiers an easy prey. Typhoid fever prevailed. The sick list increased to over three hundred, with often three or four deaths a day. So many daily funeral rites had most depressing effects. Everything conspired against proper camp sanitation; and probably the efforts to maintain a good regiment were not so thorough as in later times; certainly the means were not so ample as now. Many of the men were still wearing the linen hunting shirts in which they left their homes on the 12th of August; and these were in rags from marching through brush, and from natural wear. "Many were so entirely destitute of shoes and other clothing that they must have frozen if they had been obliged to march any distance" (M'Afee). In fact, the story of Fort Winchester and its Camps is altogether the saddest that the history of the Maumee Valley has recorded; and these sufferings were probably the greatest of their kind that American soldiers have endured. The difficulties of transportation through this "Black Swamp" region accounts in most part for these privations and sufferings. Much of the time it was impossible to move a wagon

through the mud, even without a load; it would mire and become completely blocked. Pack horses were brought into requisition, but many horses and packs were lost from the thoughtless, careless and sometimes dishonest, drivers; the depth of the mud; the want of food for the horses; and the wet, cold weather. The provisions that were brought to camp were often in spoiled condition. The following account by Captain Robert M'Afee, who was with the army, illustrates the difficulties attending the efforts to transport supplies to this army by water.

"About the first of December [1812] Major Bodley, an enterprising officer, who was quartermaster of the Kentucky troops, made an attempt to send near two hundred barrels of flour down the St. Mary in pirogues to the left wing below Defiance. Previous to this time the water had rarely been high enough to venture on a voyage in those small streams. The flour was now shipped in fifteen or twenty pirogues and canoes, and placed under the command of Captain Jordan and Lieutenant Cardwell, with upwards of twenty men. They descended the river and arrived about a week afterward at Shane's Crossing, upwards of one hundred miles by water, but only twenty by land from the place where they started. The river was so narrow, crooked, full of logs, and trees overhanging the banks, that it was with great difficulty they could make any progress. And now in one freezing night they were completely ice-bound. Lieutenant Cardwell waded back through the ice and swamps to Fort Barbee with intelligence of their situation. Major Bodley returned with him to the flour, and offered the men extra wages to cut through the ice and push forward; but having gained only one mile by two days' labor, the project was abandoned, and a guard left with the flour. A few days before Christmas a temporary thaw took place which enabled them with much difficulty and suffering to reach within a few miles of Fort Wayne, where they were again frozen up. They now abandoned the voyage and made sleds on which the men hauled the flour to Fort Wayne and left it there."

General Harrison kept informed of the condition of affairs and put forth great efforts to prevent, and to remedy, evils. In

his letter to the Secretary of War December 12th, he used the following emphatic language:

"* * * Obstacles are almost insuperable; but they are opposed with unabated firmness and zeal. * * * I fear that the expenses of this army will greatly exceed the calculations of the government. The prodigious destruction of horses can only be conceived by those who have been accustomed to military operations in a wilderness during the winter season. * * * I did not make sufficient allowance for the imbecility and inexperience of the public agents, and the villainy of the contractors. * * * If the plan of acquiring the naval superiority upon the lakes, before the attempt is made on Malden or Detroit, should be adopted, I would place fifteen hundred men in cantonment at the Miami [Maumee] rapids—Defiance would be better if the troops had not advanced from there—* * * "

In a letter to James Monroe, then acting Secretary of War, January 8, 1813, General Harrison writes further, in part as follows:

" * * * You do me justice in believing that my exertions have been unremitted, and I am sensible of the commission of one error only, that has injuriously affected our interests; and that is in retaining too large a force at Defiance [Fort Winchester]. The disadvantages attending it were however seen at the period of my committing the management of that wing to Genertal Winchester. Possessing a superior rank in the line of the army to that which was tendered to me, I considered him rather in the light of an associate in command than an inferior. I therefore recommended to him, instead of ordering it, to send back two regiments within the bounds of White's contract. Had this measure been pursued, there would have been at Fort Winchester 100,000 rations more than there is at present. The General who possesses the most estimable qualities of the head and heart, was deceived as I was, with regard to the period when the army could advance, and he did not think that the reduction of issues would be so important as it is now ascertained it would have been. * * * "

It had constantly been the hopes, and the expectations, of the officers that conditions would soon be favorable for advance

movement to the Rapids, and to Detroit. But the non-receipt of supplies, clothing particularly, and the severe sickness, had occasioned delays.

General Tupper sent spies to the Maumee Rapids from Fort M'Arthur, and they soon returned with a prisoner, one Captain Clark, of the British forces, who was captured a short distance from his command at the foot of the Rapids where they had come in boats for corn. General Tupper reported to Governor Meigs, November 9th, that he had decided to capture the British or drive them from the Rapids and save the corn. He wrote:

"* * * A moment is not to be lost. We shall be at the Rapids in three days. I have also sent an express to General Winchester, advising him of the situation of the enemy, and of our march; but as we can reach the Rapids one day sooner than General Winchester, waiting for my express, I could not think of losing one day, and thereby suffer the enemy to escape with the forage. * * * "

General Tupper details the condition of the forces and the operations at Malden, the British headquarters now Amherstburg, Canada, and to some extent at Detroit, as obtained from Captain Clark, and adds:

"* * * They [the British at Malden] are apprised of General Winchester's force, but understand he is building a fort at Defiance, and is to remain there during the winter. They have no knowledge of any other preparations making in the State of Ohio. * * * "

General Tupper proceeded on his march with six hundred and fifty men, and November 15th an express arrived at Fort Winchester from him, then at the foot of the Rapids, desiring reinforcements there. A detachment of four hundred and fifty men under Colonel Lewis started that morning. They proceeded down the river until 9 o'clock that night, when Ensign C. S. Todd was sent forward with a few of the hardier soldiers to determine Tupper's location and condition. They returned with the news that Tupper had retreated, leaving behind a sick comrade, whom the Indians had killed and scalped. Colonel Lewis' fatigued command had remained, meantime, ready for

immediate advancement, without fire and snugged together to prevent freezing. They tediously retraced their steps to Camp No. 3, being constantly on the alert to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and with much of censure for General Tupper that he did not notify them of his retreat.

The latter part of November heavy rains were experienced and, the prospects being no better for the army's advancing, the soldiers were ordered, about the first of December, to build huts for their better protection from the elements. Military vigilance was maintained as fully as practicable against being surprised by the Indians. Reconnoitering parties kept the immediate country under surveillance, and spies were often despatched to more distant points. It was at this time, and on this service down the river, that the favorite Indian spy, "Captain" Logan, received a wound from the enemy and returned to camp to die, lamented by the entire army. It was also during these trying times that the noted spy Riddle, or A. Ruddle, a man past middle life, did his greatest service and endeared himself to General Winchester's command.

December 22nd flour and other supplies were received at Fort Winchester and its Camp No. 3, with the most welcome intelligence that a constant supply would follow. Preparations were at once made for the advance. Guards were assigned to protect and attend the sick, and on the 30th of December the march for the Rapids was commenced to the great joy of the troops who were anxious to leave the scenes of such great and continued sufferings, and so many deaths from diseases. Report was made of this movement in good time to General Harrison who advised rather, that most of the force be sent to Fort Jennings on account of Tecumseh's renewed activity and the question of supplies at the Rapids. Had this recommendation to General Winchester been accepted, the great massacre that resulted from his course would not have occurred. He proceeded slowly and under great difficulties. In addition to the great weakness, and insufficient clothing, of the men, a deep snow had fallen, and through it, which was at first wet, and afterwards frozen, the soldiers were obliged to haul their food supplies and the army baggage on sleds, which they had made after the

river closed with ice. In crossing the gullies, ravines and creeks, their clothing, provisions and equipment became thoroughly wet, and there was intense suffering before camp grounds could be cleared and fires lighted by the uncertain and slow process with flint, iron and wet wood. But the greatest suffering was at night. About eleven days were occupied in marching forty miles, when on January 10th, 1813, this army of near one thousand men arrived at Presque Isle Hill on the south side of General Wayne's battle field of Fallen Timber. Here a camp was fortified to some extent and a store house for provisions and baggage was built within the camp. Some ungathered corn was found, hastily boiled whole and greatly relished by the still hungry troops. The receipt here of additional supplies, including some clothing from their homes, rapidly revived the troops.

General Payne, with six hundred and seventy men, had early been sent forward to rout a gathering of Indians huddled in an old stockade post on the south bank and near the mouth of Swan creek. Other bodies of savages were repulsed. The easy occupation of the Rapids and the lower Maumee was reassuring to the officers and the ranks; and this had much influence in inducing the unadvised and unwise advance to the River Raisin. In compliance with requests for protection received from Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan), Colonel Lewis was despatched with five hundred and fifty men, January 17th, and a few hours later Colonel Allen followed with a force of one hundred and ten under the following

GENERAL ORDERS.

CAMP MIAMI RAPIDS,
HULL'S ROAD, January 17, 1812.

As ordered yesterday, the line of march shall be kept well closed, every officer in his proper place, and no non-commissioned officer or private suffered to stagger from the lines except from urgent necessity, and then with leave to return to his place. Perfect silence is enjoined during the march, being in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy.

J. WINCHESTER, *Brig. Gen.,*
Commanding Left Wing N. W. Army.

The sending of these small forces near Malden, the headquarters of the enemy, without the knowledge and order of

General Harrison, was the second of a series of grave errors on the part of General Winchester which were soon to work the destruction of his army and to obscure, at least, what little honor was attached to him. Colonels Lewis and Allen engaged the enemy near Frenchtown and defeated them, driving them beyond the Raisin River. They then despatched for reinforcements and began preparations for defense against oncoming superior numbers. General Winchester, on learning of the success of his colonels, left a guard for the store house and started on January 19th with two hundred and fifty-nine soldiers. He arrived at Frenchtown in the afternoon of the next day. There all his former thoughtfulness and care for his men seemed to forsake him. He established headquarters in the comfortable residence of Francis Navarre on the south side of the river and a long distance from his forces. The following day he was informed that a large force of British and Indians would attack him that night. A Frenchman, "Jocko" LaSalle, in sympathy with the British, persuaded him that there was no truth in the report. His vigilant and successful colonels also received and communicated to him evidences of the oncoming of large forces of Indians and British with artillery. But the General was under an evil spell! The reports were discredited; no further spies were sent out by him; no definite precautions against surprise were taken; nor special preparations made for the comfort and safety of the troops who accompanied him. To what subtile, and soothingly disastrous influences had the General been subjected by association with this gracious host and this voluble and genial Jocko? Habituated to an easy, luxurious life, the General had been for many weeks in the midst of forest wilds, privations and sufferings, and now had headquarters in a comfortable house; was, in fact, the guest of a good liver with whom plenty abounded. The successes of his colonels and his reliance on their vigilance brought a relaxation on the part of the General, on whom they relied, and he settled down to some enjoyment, soothed by the kind hospitality of his host and the false assurance of the enemy's friend! This was a magic spell of security and peace like the momentary calm preceding a disastrous burst of the tempest.

Very early in the morning of January 22nd the brave American troops were surprised by the stealthy foe and nearly overwhelmed by superior numbers and ordnance. About three hundred were killed in the fierce combat and later massacred direct and by the firing of buildings by the Indians! Five hundred and forty-seven were taken prisoners! Others were missing!

General Winchester, aroused by the guns, strove in the biting cold to join his army from which he was separated by the river and nearly a mile (?) of distance. Mounting his host's horse he rode in what he supposed to be the direction of the camp of his soldiers (Hosmer), but had not gone far before he was captured by Jack Brandy, an Indian of Round Head's band, who divested him of nearly all clothing and conducted him half frozen to Colonel Proctor, the British commander. He was there persuaded to order his troops to surrender. The white flag was started with this order towards the pickets behind which the Americans were more than holding their position. They refused to surrender. Thrice did the white flag pass from the British headquarters to the American line (*American State Papers*), once accompanied Winchester (Hosmer), before the courageous Major Madison would surrender, and which he then consented to do only after promises of protection to all under the rules of war. How these promises were ignored regarding the wounded and those captured by the Indians, and how fully the savages reveled in butchery, is not within the province of this article to describe.

General Winchester was sent by his British captors to Quebec and some time later to Beauport near that city, where he was confined until the spring of 1814 when he was exchanged. He resigned his commission in March, 1815, and returned to his home in Tennessee, where he died July 27, 1826. The great disaster at the River Raisin, though most deeply lamented, was not without good results in its lessons. "Remember the Raisin" became the slogan that spurred many a man to enlist in the army and to do valiant service for his country; and it also incited the officers to greater thoughtfulness and sense of responsibility.

Although General Winchester had unfavorably disappeared from the scene, the usefulness of the fort bearing his name was

not impaired. The store house that had been erected at the Rapids was now destroyed with much of its contents to prevent their being possessed to aid the enemy, and the troops retired from the lower river. Again Fort Winchester became the first position of defense in the Maumee Valley, and the principal shield to the settlers to the south of it who had become greatly alarmed. On February 1st General Harrison again advanced to the Rapids with 1,700 troops and chose a new position on the heights where Fort Meigs was afterwards built, to which point he ordered additional forces for the purpose of advancing against Malden. The 11th of February he reported to Hon. John Armstrong, Secretary of War, from "Headquarters, Foot of the Miami [Maumee] Rapids," writing that the open (muddy) condition of the country, the expiration of the term of enlistment of many of the troops, and the garrisoning of the several posts established, would still further delay for the winter the advance of the army; and that a battalion of the militia lately called out from Ohio, with the company of regular troops then at Fort Winchester, would garrison the posts upon the waters of the Auglaize and the St. Mary. Continuing, he wrote that

"The small blockhouses upon Hull's trace will have a subaltern's command in each. A company will be placed at Upper Sandusky, and another at Lower Sandusky [now Fremont, Ohio]. All the rest of the troops will be brought to this place, amounting to from fifteen to eighteen hundred men. I am erecting here a pretty strong fort—capable of resisting field artillery at least. The troops will be placed in a fortified camp, covered on one flank by the fort. This position is the best that can be taken to cover the frontiers, and the small posts in the rear of it, and those above it on the Miami [Maumee] and its waters. The force placed here ought, however, to be strong enough to encounter any that the enemy may detach against the forts above. Twenty-five hundred would not be too many. * * * Immense supplies have been accumulating upon the Auglaize River, and boats and pirogues prepared to bring them as soon as the river opens. * * * "

Troops and supplies continued to pass down the Auglaize and Maumee rivers, stopping under the walls of Fort Winchester

for the men to rest before continuing the march, or while awaiting a rise in the rivers to float their heavily laden boats over the rocks, down to Fort Meigs soon after its construction, with reinforcements during its first bloody, and second bloodless, investment by the enemy; and also to reinforce the victorious American troops later in 1813 and in 1814, on Lake Erie, and for their advance up the Detroit river, and into Canada.

A "Report of provisions remaining at different posts on the centre and left wings of the northwestern army (the purchases of John H. Piatt, Deputy Purchasing Commissary), on the 24th day of June, 1813," shows that there were at Fort Winchester at that date the following named supplies: 1,209 barrels of flour; 247 barrels of whiskey; 119 barrels salt; 13 barrels pork; 20,000 pounds bacon; 10 boxes soap; and 18 boxes candles. "Part of the flour damaged, being sunk in the river after leaving Amanda [on the Auglaize river near the north line of the present Auglaize county] and St. Marys, and for the want of proper care after it arrived at Fort Winchester." *American State Papers.*

Many a weary soldier, worn with campaigning through the muddy forests, and from disease, and wounds, found at Fort Winchester welcome and recreative lodgment on his homeward journey after his term of enlistment had expired; and at the close of the war following the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, when the state quotas were rapidly discharged to return finally to their homes. Fort Winchester, like most of the other fortifications, was soon thereafter dismantled, and the United States regular soldiers composing its garrison were distributed to widely scattered points on the receding frontier.

Many of the Ohio volunteers returned to establish homes in the more naturally favored places admired in their campaigning days. Of this number the vicinity of Fort Winchester received a goodly share. The blockhouses and officers' quarters were occupied by these settlers and their families as residences until houses were built upon their lands. The buildings of the Fort thus again served an admirable purpose, *post bellum auxilium*, as homes for successive new comers so long as their timbers remained in fit condition for their occupancy; and then the better timbers were used to piece out new buildings in the neigh-

borhood, while the poorer ones served as ready supplies for the winter fires. In 1822 the southeast block-house still contained a hand mill with burrstones, the use of which had been of incalculable benefit to the settlers, it being up to this date the only mill in this region. There was also a large perforated tin grater which was much used by the public for grating corn not fully ripe, for mush and griddle cakes. There also remained in this southeast block-house in 1822 two or three iron-bound chests full of written documents relating to the soldiers and the war. These papers, if now in hand, would disclose much of interesting details which have gone out with them, and would shed much light on parts of the story of this Fort and on the conduct of the war in the Northwest, that now appear vague, disconnected and unsatisfactory. All of the buildings of Fort Winchester had disappeared previous to the year 1840, and at that date but few stub remnants of the stockade-timbers could be seen projecting above ground.

Many years have now elapsed since comfortable residences, and two church edifices, were built within the former precincts of Fort Winchester. Other churches, the public buildings of Defiance county, and the principal business houses of a thriving small city, are but a short distance removed from the site of its walls. Even during the active era of Fort Winchester, as the reader may have noticed in this article, the place was often referred to as Defiance, and so the name entered upon record. The earthworks of General Wayne's Fort Defiance, still in existence, having been for many years the only visual reminder of a former fortification here, the name and remembrance of the later and larger fortification has, in later years, become more and more obscured. In fact, very few of the residents of the city of Defiance, even, know of its former existence, and scarcely one of these few know the exact place where it was situated, as no trace of it has existed since the filling in, many years ago, of the cellar and underground passage way to the Auglaize river. The erosions of the river bank have been considerable since 1812 when Fort Winchester was built. The line of apple trees then standing along the bank have long since been undermined

by the high waters and carried down the stream, the last one disappearing about the year 1872.

It has been the desire of the writer of this sketch to mention only such persons and events as will give the reader a connected and intelligent, though rapid, view of the necessity for Fort Winchester, of its origin and description, and of the important service it rendered; also such mention as may extend the reader's knowledge of the man under whose directions it was built, and in whose honor it was named.

WHEN DID OHIO IN FACT BECOME A SOVEREIGN STATE OF THE UNION?

BY HON. RUSH R. SLOANE.

In considering this question it is necessary to advert to the fact that, after the Declaration of Independence, Connecticut set up a claim to the north part of Ohio above latitude 41° north, and Virginia claimed Ohio below that line as being within the limits of her charter.

While these questions caused some discussion and negotiation, they were amicably settled, and on the 13th day of July, 1787, congress assumed the jurisdiction of this territory, which included all the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river, and passed an ordinance for its government. Virginia had reserved the land lying between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers and gave the same to her soldiers of the Revolution, as a reward for their services. This was called the Virginia military tract. So congress laid off a tract for that purpose which lay south of New Connecticut, and extended from the Ohio river on the east, to the Scioto on the west. This was known as the United States Military tract. Congress gave to Connecticut what was called the Western Reserve or New Connecticut. It extended one hundred and twenty miles from east to west, and an average of fifty miles from north to south. Five hundred thousand acres of this tract, off from the west end, the State of Connecticut gave to sufferers by fire in the Revolutionary war. This land thus came to be called sufferers' land or Firelands, and is mostly included in the counties of Erie and Huron, a small part being in Ashland and Ottawa counties, and gives the name to the "Firelands Historical Society," of national repute.

This ordinance of 1787 constituted the Northwest Territory a civil government with limited powers. It embraced within its boundaries the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Whenever the Northwest Ter-

ritory contained five thousand free male inhabitants of full age it should elect a legislature and enact all laws, and under the fifth article of the ordinance this second grade of colonial government was to continue until that designated part of the territory forming the State of Ohio, had the required population of 60,000, when they could call a convention and frame a constitution preparatory to being admitted as a state into the Union. Early in 1802 a census was taken in the eastern division of the territory and it was found to contain forty-five thousand and twenty-eight persons of both sexes. The ordinance of 1787 required sixty thousand inhabitants to entitle the district to become a state, and yet an application was then made to congress for a law empowering the inhabitants of that division to call a convention and form a constitution preparatory to the establishment of a state government. The law was passed and approved April 30th, 1802, when the eastern district had only the population above stated. This, however, is not the only instance in which the provisions of the ordinance of 1787 have not been strictly observed and carried out by the congress of the United States. This has been notably so in reference to the requirements of the Fifth article, wherein it provided that "there shall be formed in the said territory not less than three nor more than five states." Yet congress formed out of the said Northwest Territory six states, as hereinbefore stated.

The doubt and uncertainty as to when Ohio became a state has arisen largely from the fact that congress desired and intended to impose conditions and restrictions, while professing to admit the state on an equal footing with the original states. But, while the original states were subject to no restrictions or limitation of power except those contained in the Federal constitution, by the enabling act of April 30th, 1802, congress proposed the admission of Ohio as a state in the Federal union upon the acceptance of certain conditions, some of them of an oppressive character, degrading in their tendency, and injurious to the future prosperity of the people. One of them was that congress should have the right of disposing of the jurisdiction of the territory north of the line east and west through the southern extreme of Lake Michigan as they might deem proper,

although in express terms the ordinance declared that that territory should remain a part of the state formed on the south of it until its inhabitants amounted to sixty thousand.

Another condition was that each tract of land sold by congress from and after a certain date should be and remain exempt from any state, county, township or other tax whatever for the term of five years from and after the date of sale.

The election was held, as provided in said enabling act, to choose the members of the constitutional convention to meet at Chillicothe on the first Monday of November, 1802, at which date the convention organized. It was in session until November 29th. It agreed upon the form of a state constitution and did not require its submission to a popular vote, as this was not required by the enabling act. The journal of the convention shows that a resolution was offered, that the constitution be submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection, and was lost by a vote of 27 to 7. The new constitution being adopted November 29th, 1802, by the unanimous vote of the convention. At the same date at which the convention adopted the constitution it also adopted an ordinance and resolution, to which special attention is called and which is hereafter given in full, and following the seventh section of the enabling act, which is also given in full, from which it will be observed that the conditions of congress in said enabling act were accepted by Ohio to become operative and binding, when Congress should concede certain other conditions and additions to and modifications of the said propositions, and that said ordinance and resolution adopted by the convention imposed further obligations, which it was necessary for Congress to grant and act upon. The act of February 19, 1803, did not grant these conditions and obligations; it only provided for the due execution of the laws of the United States within the state of Ohio. We find by the journal of the convention that Thomas Worthington was authorized to carry the constitution and ordinance and resolution to Congress, and to ask for the approval by Congress of the constitution, with the amendments and changes proposed in the ordinance and resolution of November 29, 1802. This duty was performed, and Mr. Worthington went to Philadelphia and sent

a letter to Congress, which on the 23d of December, with all the papers, were duly referred to a special committee. This committee made no report until in February, 1803.

Meanwhile the question was raised whether the delegate, Mr. Fearing, from the territory of Ohio, was longer entitled to his seat, as the Ohio convention had, on the 29th of November, 1802, adopted a state constitution. On the last day of January, 1803, the house of representatives decided that Ohio was not yet a state, and that Mr. Fearing still held his place as delegate from the territory of Ohio.

Now, you must observe that the convention to form a new constitution did not accept the conditions desired by congress in the seventh section of the enabling act, but considered the people of the state as entitled to better terms, and that it was the duty of the convention to negotiate for better terms with Congress, and which terms, as demanded in the ordinance and resolution of 1802, Congress did afterwards grant. Mr. Worthington returned to Ohio, and the legislature convened on the first day of March, Tuesday, 1803, as stipulated in the state constitution, being assured that Congress would grant exactly the terms as set forth in the aforesaid ordinance and resolution.

A reference to the act of Congress of May 7, 1800. To the 7th Section of the Enabling Act of April 30, 1802.

To the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1803 and to the acts and ordinance and resolution of the convention of 1802 is absolutely necessary in deciding the question of date.

The act of 1800 set off that part of the Northwest Territory now included in Ohio as a distinct territorial government, and the seat of government fixed at Chillicothe. The rest of the territory was organized as the territory of Indiana. The boundaries of Ohio were given, and it was called the Eastern division. The ordinances of May, 1785, and July, 1787, were passed before settlements began north of the Ohio, and were held out to emigrants as inducements to settle in a wilderness, with all the dangers and hardships connected therewith. These ordinances declared that "the lot No. 16 in each township shall be given perpetually for the use of schools," and thus became a condition of the sale and settlement of the western country. This reser-

vation of section 16 therefore could not, April 30, 1802, be made the consideration of a new bargain between the United States and the state of Ohio, because the state already had this reservation, as did all of the territory, by the ordinance of 1785.

Now it is necessary to set forth section 7 of the said enabling act, approved April 30, 1802, which was in the words following:

"Section 7. That the following propositions be, and the same are hereby offered to the convention of the eastern state of the said territory, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection; which if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory upon the United States. First—That the section number sixteen, in every township, and where such section has been sold, granted or disposed of, other lands equivalent thereto, and most contiguous to the same, shall be granted to the inhabitants of such townships, for the use of schools. Second—That the six miles reservation, including the salt springs, commonly called the Scioto salt springs, the salt springs near the Muskingum river and in the Military tract, with the sections of land which include the same, shall be granted to the said state, for the use of the people thereof, the same to be used under such terms, and conditions, and regulations as the legislature of the said state shall direct; provided, the said legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a period longer than ten years. Third—That one-twentieth part of the net proceeds of the lands lying within the said state, sold by Congress, from and after the thirtieth day of June next, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be applied to the laying out, and making public roads leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic to the Ohio, to the said state and through the same, such roads to be laid out, under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several states through which the road shall pass; provided, always, that the three foregoing propositions herein offered, are on the conditions, that the convention of the said state, shall provide by an ordinance, irrevocable without the consent of the United States, that every and each tract of land, sold by Congress, from and after the thirtieth day of June next, shall be and remain exempt from any tax laid by order or under authority

of the state, whether for state, county, township or any other purpose whatever for the term of five years, from and after the day of sale." (Approved April 30, 1802.)

Now, it will be observed that by said 7th section certain propositions contained therein are offered to the convention of the eastern territory when formed for their free acceptance or rejection, which, if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory upon the United States. It is further to be noted that the constitution, as adopted did neither accept or reject the propositions contained in the 7th section of the enabling act, as requested in said act. It was generally supposed at the time, that such acceptance or rejection would be final. But this was not the case. The almost unanimous opinion of the convention was that the conditions offered by Congress were not an adequate consideration for the state rights to be surrendered; yet not promptly rejecting the propositions they passed an ordinance in which they resolved to accept them, provided certain additions and modifications should be agreed to by Congress, a copy of which ordinance and resolution passed in convention, November 29, 1802, at which time the constitution was also adopted, was as follows:

"We, the representatives of the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, being assembled in convention, pursuant to an act of Congress, entitled "An act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the river Ohio to form a constitution and state government and for the admission of such state into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes, and having had under our consideration the propositions offered by the said act, for our free acceptance or rejection, do resolve to accept of the said propositions; provided, the following addition to and modification of the said propositions shall be agreed to by the Congress of the United States, viz., That in addition to the first proposition, securing the section number sixteen in every township, within certain tracts, to the inhabitants thereof, for the use of schools, a like donation, equal to one-thirty-sixth part of the amount of the lands in the United States military tract, shall be

made for the support of schools, within that tract; and that the like provision shall be made for the support of schools in the Virginia reservation, so far as the unlocated lands in that tract will supply the proportion aforesaid, after the warrants issued from said state have been satisfied; and also that a donation of the same kind, or such provision as Congress shall deem expedient, shall be made to the inhabitants of the Connecticut reserve. That of all the lands which may hereafter be purchased of the Indian tribes, by the United States, and lying within the state of Ohio, the one thirty-sixth part shall be given, as aforesaid, for the support of public schools. That all lands before mentioned to be appropriated by the United States, for the support of schools, shall be vested in the legislature of this state, in trust for said purpose. That not less than three per cent. of the net proceeds of the lands of the United States, lying within the limits of the state of Ohio, sold and to be sold, after the thirtieth day of June last, shall be applied in laying out roads, within the state, under the direction of the legislature thereof. And if the Congress of the United States shall agree to the above addition to and modification of the said propositions, it is hereby declared and ordained that every and each tract of land sold or to be sold by Congress, from and after the thirtieth day of June last, shall be and remain exempt from any tax laid by order or under the authority of the state, whether for state, county, township or any other purposes whatever for the term of five years after the day of sale, to be reckoned from the date of the certificate of the first quarterly payment.

"That whereas Congress, by a law entitled "An act authorizing the grant and conveyance of certain lands to John Cleves Symmes and his associates passed the fifth day of May, 1792, did authorize the President of the United States to convey by letters patent unto the said John Cleves Symmes and his associates, their heirs and assigns, a certain tract of land therein described, and did further authorize the President by the act aforesaid, to grant and convey unto the said John Cleves Symmes and his associates, their heirs and assigns, in trust for the purpose of establishing an academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning, one complete township to be included

and located within such limits and lines of boundary as the President may judge expedient; and in pursuance thereof, the President did convey unto the said John Cleves Symmes and his associates, their heirs and assigns, by his letters patent, the aforesaid one complete township, to be located and accepted by the governor of the territory northwest of the river Ohio; and inasmuch as the township aforesaid has never been located and accepted agreeably to the provision of this act."

The convention recommend the following propositions to Congress as an equivalent for the one complete township aforesaid, to wit: The lots numbered eight, eleven and twenty-six, reserved in the several townships for the future disposition of Congress, or so many of the said lots, as will amount to the number contained in the aforesaid complete township, to be vested in the legislature, in trust to and for the purpose for which the said township was originally intended, to be designated by the legislature of this state."

ACT OF CONGRESS,

APPROVED MARCH 3, 1803.

An act in addition to, and in modification of the propositions contained in the act, entitled "An Act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the union, on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes."

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the following several tracts of land in the state of Ohio be, and the same are hereby appropriated for the use of schools in that state, and shall, together with all the tracts of land heretofore appropriated for that purpose, be vested in the legislature of that state, in trust for the use aforesaid, and for no other use, intent or purpose whatever; that is to say:

First: The following quarter townships in the tract commonly called the "United States Military Tract" for the use of schools within the same, viz., the first quarter of the third township in the first range; the first quarter of the first township in the fourth range, the fourth quarter of the first township and the third quarter of the fifth township in the fifth range, the second quarter of the third township in the sixth range, the fourth quarter of the second township in the

seventh range, the third quarter of the third township in the eighth range, the first quarter of the first township and the first quarter of the third township in the ninth range, the third quarter of the first township in the tenth range, the first and fourth quarters of the third township in the eleventh range, the fourth quarter of the fourth township in the twelfth range, the second and third quarters of the fourth township in the fifteenth range, the third quarter of the seventh township in the sixteenth range, and the first quarter of the sixth township and third quarter of the seventh township in the eighteenth range, being the one thirty-sixth part of the estimated whole amount of lands within that tract.

Secondly: The following quarter townships in the same tract, for the use of schools in that tract, commonly called the Connecticut Reserve, viz.: The third quarter of the ninth township and the fourth quarter of the tenth township in the first range, the first and second quarters of the ninth township in the second range, the second and third quarters of the ninth township in the third range; the first quarter of the ninth township and the fourth quarter of the tenth township in the fourth range, the first quarter of the ninth township in the fifth range, the first and fourth quarters of the ninth township in the sixth range, the first and third quarters of the ninth township in the seventh range, and the fourth quarter of the ninth township in the eighth range.

Thirdly: So much of that tract commonly called the "Virginia Military Reservation" as will amount to one thirty-sixth part of the whole tract, for the use of schools within the same, and to be selected by the legislature of the state of Ohio, out of the unlocated lands in that tract, after the warrants issued from the state of Virginia shall have been satisfied; it being, however, understood that the donation is not to exceed the whole amount of the above-mentioned residue of such unlocated lands, even if it shall fall short of one thirty-sixth part of said tract.

Fourthly: One thirty-sixth part of all the lands of the United States lying in the state of Ohio, to which the Indian title has not been extinguished, which may hereafter be purchased of the Indian tribes, by the United States, which thirty-sixth part shall consist of the Section No. 16 in each township, if the said land shall be surveyed in townships of six miles square, and shall, if the land be surveyed in a different manner, be designated by lots.

Sec. 2. That the secretary of the treasury shall, from time to time, and whenever the quarterly accounts of the receivers of public moneys of the several land offices shall be settled, pay three per cent. of the net proceeds of the lands of the United States, lying within the state of Ohio, which, since the thirtieth day of June last, have been, or hereafter may be sold by the United States, after deducting all expenses incidental to the same, to such person or persons as may be authorized by the legislature of the said state to receive the same, which sums,

thus paid, shall be applied to the laying out, opening and making roads, within the said state, and to no other purpose whatever; and an annual account of the application of the same shall be transmitted to the secretary of the treasury, by such officer of the state as the legislature thereof shall direct; and it is hereby declared, that the payment thus to be made, as well as the several appropriations for schools, made by the preceding section, are in conformity with, and in consideration of the conditions agreed on by the state of Ohio, by the ordinance of the convention of the said state, bearing date the twenty-ninth day of November last.

SEC. 3. That the sections of land heretofore promised for the use of schools, in lieu of such of the sections, No. 16, as have been otherwise disposed of, shall be selected by the secretary of the treasury, out of the unappropriated reserved sections, in the most contiguous townships.

SEC. 4. That one complete township, in the state of Ohio, and district of Cincinnati, or so much of any one complete township, within the same, as may then remain unsold, together with as many adjoining sections as shall have been sold in the said township, so as to make in the whole, thirty-six sections, to be located under the direction of the legislature of the said state, on or before the first day of October next, with the register of the land office of Cincinnati, be, and the same is hereby vested in the legislature of the state of Ohio, for the purpose of establishing an academy, in lieu of the township already granted for the same purpose, by virtue of the act, entitled "An Act authorizing the grant and conveyance of certain lands to John Cleves Symmes, and his associates." Provided, however, that the same shall revert to the United States, if, within five years after the passing of this act, a township shall have been secured for the said purpose, within the boundary of the patent, granted, by virtue of the above-mentioned act, to John Cleves Symmes, and his associates.

SEC. 5. That the attorney-general, for the time being, be directed and authorized to locate and accept, from the said John Cleves Symmes, and his associates, any one complete township within the boundaries of the said patent, so as to secure the same for the purpose of establishing an academy, in conformity to the provisions of the said patent, and in case of non-compliance, to take, or direct to be taken, such measures as will compel an execution of the trust. Provided, however, that John Cleves Symmes, and his associates, shall be released from the said trust and the said township shall vest in them, or any of them, in fee simple, upon payment into the treasury of the United States, of fifteen thousand three hundred and sixty dollars, with interest from the date of the above mentioned patent to the day of such payment.

(Approved March 3, 1803.)

By Section 4 of the constitution it was declared that "Chillicothe shall be the seat of government until the year one thousand eight hundred and eight." And, by Section 25, it was enacted as follows:

SEC. 25. "The first session of the General Assembly shall commence on the first Tuesday of March next;" which would be "Tuesday, March 1st, 1803."

These sections, and schedule 6 were all mandatory and were strictly and fully complied with.

It is therefore clear that Ohio became a state on the meeting of her first legislature, under the constitution of 1802, and this convened at Chillicothe on Tuesday, March 1st, 1803. Michael Baldwin was elected speaker of the house of representatives, and Nathaniel Massie speaker of the senate.

This General Assembly then appointed:

Secretary of State, ... WILLIAM CREIGHTON, JR.
Auditor of State, ... THOMAS GIBSON.
Treasurer, ... WILLIAM MCFARLAND.

These officers were duly qualified and entered upon their respective duties. On Thursday, the 3rd of March, the legislature counted the 4,564 votes cast for governor, and the speaker, M. Baldwin, declared "Edward Tiffin duly elected Governor of the State of Ohio."

And the record of these proceedings date from March 1, 1803.

And as we have seen Congress agreed to the modifications as proposed in the ordinance and resolution passed by the Ohio convention November 29, 1802. And thus the compact between the people of Ohio and the Congress of the United States was completed.

The act of Congress of February 19th, 1803, which declared the laws of the United States should be of the same force and effect in said state as elsewhere in the United States and the act of March 3rd, 1803, published in this article by which Congress consented to certain additions proposed by the convention, while they both recognized the State of Ohio, *did not create a state.* It must be remembered that there was no formal act of Congress for the admission of Ohio as a state and the law-making power

being the representative of the sovereignty of the state, whenever that began, the territorial government on that day ceased, and Ohio became a state in the Union.

By the en-abling act of April 30, 1802, and by the adoption November 29, 1802, the people of Ohio became a body politic. Yet there was no state, for in the new constitution it was acknowledged that the territorial government should continue until a state government should be formed. It was for this object that in schedule (6) of the constitution it was ordained that an election of the governor, members of the legislature, and sheriffs, under the constitution should be held January 11th, 1803.

This election was held accordingly and a governor and members of the legislature elected. On this day all territorial officers resigned, the new state officials assumed their duties and then, and *not until then,* did Ohio become a state in the Union. This was Tuesday, March 1st, 1803.

Will also state that I have in my library the first volume ever published of Ohio Laws. It is entitled "Acts of the State of Ohio, First Session, Volume 1, Chillicothe, Tuesday, the first day of March, A. D., 1803, being the first session held under the constitution of the State of Ohio." Now refer to the act of Congress passed February 21, 1806, which decided when Ohio became a state. The territorial judges did not conclude the business of their courts, as they claimed, until April 15, 1803, and wanted their pay to that date. The officials of the treasury, on advice of the attorney general of the United States, refused to allow them pay beyond the time of the adoption of the new constitution, November 29, 1802. The judges then applied to the state legislature of Ohio, and were refused payment, claiming that it was for the United States to pay. The result was the passage of the above act, which fixed the date when Ohio became a state as March 1, 1803. This has ever since been considered conclusive, and may properly be considered an authoritative decision upon this subject.

Sandusky, Ohio, January 5th, 1901.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY IN OHIO.

BY JEAN DICK CHEETHAM.

The doctrine of state sovereignty was the natural outgrowth of conditions which existed in the American colonies;[1] in the Articles of Confederation the doctrine assumed definite form, each state was to "retain its sovereignty, freedom and independence," and this was the element of weakness that undermined the Confederation; it hindered the acceptance of the Constitution by the States and delayed their union; it was made the battle cry in the political revolution of 1798-1800; it tainted the political life of the Republic and was the predisposing cause of most of the ills of our body politic for the first three-quarters of a century of our national existence, but the civil war struck the death blow to the doctrine.

Ohio did not escape this malign influence. The story of the conflict between this State and the United States Bank—between the State government and the Federal government—is exceedingly interesting to the student of political history. In her youth Ohio not only advocated state rights, but nullification, and went so far as to prove her faith by her works.

Her blunder was a serious one, but nation, state or individual is the greatest that "Can win the most splendid victories by the retrieval of mistakes."

Ohio was admitted to the Union in 1803, during the administration of President Jefferson, and for the first twenty-five years of her statehood, the Democratic-Republican was the dominant

[1] "As separate states they were all agreed that they should constitute and govern themselves. The revolution under which they were gasping for life * * * * had been kindled by the abuse of power — the power of government. An invincible repugnance to the delegation of power, had thus been generated, by the very course of events which had rendered it necessary; and the more indispensable it became, the more awakened was the jealousy and the more intense was the distrust by which it was to be circumscribed."—J. Q. Adams, Jubilee of the Constitution, p. 10.

party in both state and nation. It is not therefore surprising that she should have become imbued with the doctrine of state rights and tainted by that "colossal heresy" nullification.

In April, 1816, Congress passed an act incorporating the Bank of the United States. This bill for rechartering the Bank (which had been originally established in 1791, but whose charter had expired in 1811) met with strong opposition in the House, where it passed by a vote of eighty to seventy-one. The fight was not so bitter in the Senate, the vote there standing twenty-two to twelve.

In the spring of 1817 the Bank established an office of discount and deposit at Cincinnati and a few months later another was opened at Chillicothe.

When the Legislature met the following December, the private banks and the political demagogues began a very lively campaign against these branches. The Legislature appointed a joint committee to consider the expediency of taxing all branches of the United States Bank that had been, or might be established within this State. The report of the committee was adverse to such action. (House Journal 1818, pp. 144-147.)

The Lower House refused to concur in the report by a vote of 37 to 22, and presented a substitute consisting of a very lengthy preamble and brief resolutions. After considering the rights of the Government, the privileges of the State and the duties of the Bank, they strike the key-note of the opposition:

"That these branches must very seriously affect the operations of the state banks, admits of no question; and if we are to transact our business upon a paper currency, it would seem to be sound policy to preserve that currency in some measure under our own control.

"From the banking institutions of the State, both the State government and its citizens, derive considerable revenue. The profit made by banking is divided among ourselves, and the debts due to our banks, are debts due to our own citizens. But by the introduction of these branches, we place ourselves in the hands of strangers, and the discounts paid upon our loans, will be in the nature of a tribute to the stock jobbers of the Atlantic cities, and of Europe. * * *

"The discount upon Ohio paper in the Atlantic cities is in fact an advantage to the country. It induces the merchant to invest it in produce at home and seek a market for that produce abroad. * * * Its natural tendency is to keep money in the country, and send out produce; thus reducing the consumption of foreign articles within a just and proper boundary, and checking the propensity to engage in the trade of importation. * * * The complaints against depreciated bank paper, and about the difficulty of exchange, are loud and incessant, but this is no proof that they are of the magnitude described. * * *

"It is therefore evident that the capital introduced into the country through these branches, is directly calculated to wither our agriculture and cramp our manufactures, and, of course, has no claim upon our indulgence; but is most unquestionably a proper subject of taxation." (House Journal 1818, pp. 313-315.)

This substitute report was accepted and a committee was appointed to prepare a bill. No further action was taken, however, in regard to the matter at that session. But when the General Assembly met in the winter of 1818-1819 the question was again taken up and on the 8th of February, 1819, a law was enacted taxing the United States Bank. In a preamble they declare that "The president and directors of the Bank of the United States have established two offices of discount and deposit in this state, at which they transact banking business, by loaning money and issuing bills in violation of the laws of this state." It was therefore provided that if the Bank of the United States continued to do business after the 1st day of September, 1819, that it should "pay a tax of fifty thousand dollars per annum upon each office of discount and deposit at which they may commence or continue to transact banking business within this state." (O. L. Vol. 17, pp. 190-191.)

The collection of the tax was committed to the Auditor of State, who was to "make out his warrant under his seal of office directed to any person whom he may appoint, in such warrant, to execute the same, commanding him to collect the amount of tax in said warrant specified, from the Bank of the United States." (O. L. Vol. 17, p. 192.)

This collector was vested with extraordinary powers in collecting the tax. He was authorized to enter the banking house of the Bank of the United States and demand payment of the amount called for in the warrant. If, after such demand was made, payment of the tax was refused, if he was unable to find in the banking room any money, bank notes, etc., whereon to levy, the act declares that "it shall and may be lawful, and it is hereby made the duty of such person, to go into each and any other room or vault of such banking house, and every closet, chest, box or drawer in such banking house to open and search; and any money, bank notes, or other goods and chattels, the property of said bank * * * therein deposited, thereon to levy, or so much thereof as will satisfy the tax aforesaid." (O. L. Vol. 17, pp. 193.)

The Auditor, considering the act imperative, made known to the Governor, at an early period, his determination to carry the law into effect, and he received the concurrent opinion of the Executive that it was his (the Auditor's) duty to proceed to the execution thereof unless enjoined by proper authority. On the 11th of September the Auditor was served with a notice that application would be made on the 14th of that month, "or so soon thereafter as counsel could be heard," to the Circuit Court of the United States at Chillicothe, "to enjoin the proceedings under the aforesaid act, against the Bank of the United States, in the hands of the Auditor."

On the morning of the 15th of September the Auditor was served with a copy of a petition in chancery, filed in the Circuit Court of the United States by the officers of the Bank, praying, among other things, that the Auditor be enjoined from charging the said Bank with a tax of fifty thousand dollars upon either of the offices established in the State of Ohio, and also from making out any warrant or appointing any person to execute either or any of the provisions of the said act of the Legislature against them.

The Auditor was also served with a subpoena in chancery from the Circuit Court to appear before it in Chillicothe on the first Monday of January to answer said petition.

Notwithstanding all this, the Auditor proceeded to charge the Bank of the United States with a tax of one hundred thousand dollars, and issued a warrant to John L. Harper for the collection of the same. On the 17th of September demand was made by Mr. Harper on the Cashier of the bank at Chillicothe, and on his refusal to pay it, the bank was forcibly entered by Mr. Harper and his assistant, and specie and bank notes to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars were taken. Mr. Harper started at once for Columbus, and on reaching that point placed ninety-eight thousand dollars in the hands of the Treasurer (two per cent of the full amount being retained by the collectors for their services) and received the receipt of the Treasurer for that amount; this receipt was given by Mr. Harper to the Auditor, who gave his official receipt for it and charged the Treasurer therewith. The Treasurer consulted counsel as to whether he ought to retain this sum within his individual control or pass it to the credit of the State on his books; he adopted the latter course, but placed the funds in a trunk and kept it separate from other funds. (Senate Journal 1820, pp. 39-66, and Wheaton's Reports, 9, p. 833.)

The United States Bank brought an action for trespass against the Auditor of State and others, in which it charged them with carrying away one hundred thousand dollars "under color and pretence of the law of Ohio," and secured the arrest of the collectors who had taken the money from the bank at Chillicothe; they also secured an order enjoining the State Treasurer from "negotiating, delivering over, or in any manner parting with, or disposing of the specie and identical bank notes or coin, of which the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, or any part thereof consisted," until the case should be finally decided. (House Journal 1821, p. 66.)

At the next meeting of the General Assembly, December, 1820, the Auditor of State made a full report of all that had occurred in connection with this case, and the report was referred to a joint committee of the House and Senate. On December 12, 1820, this committee made a very lengthy report in which it declared that it was "aware of the doctrine that the Federal Courts are exclusively vested with jurisdiction to declare, in

the last resort, the true interpretation of the constitution of the United States. To this doctrine, in the latitude contended for, they never can give their assent." (House Journal 1821, p. 106.)

The committee recommended that the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of McCulloch vs. the State of Maryland (Wheaton's Reports 4, p. 316), a case covering much the same ground, be ignored, and it was called a "manufactured case." It announced that "a combination between one-half of the states, comprising one-third of the people only, possess the power of disorganizing the federal government, in all its majesty of supremacy, without a single act of violence." (House Journal 1821, p. 117.)

It further said "In general partial legislation is objectionable, but this is no ordinary case; and may, therefore call for, and warrant extraordinary measures. Since the exemptions claimed by the bank are sustained upon the proposition that the power that created it must have the power to preserve it, there would seem to be a strict propriety in putting the creating power to the exercise of this preserving power, and thus ascertaining distinctly whether the executive and legislative departments of the government of the Union, will recognize, sustain and enforce the doctrine of the judicial department." (House Journal 1821, p. 130.)

It then proceeded to recommend that the United States Bank be placed beyond the protection of the laws of the State, and the committee adopted a series of resolutions, among them the following:

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That in respect to the powers of the governments of the several states that compose the American Union and the powers of the Federal Government, this General Assembly do recognize and approve the doctrines asserted by the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia in their resolutions of November and December, 1798, and January, 1800, and do consider that their principles have been recognized and adopted by a majority of the American people.

Resolved further, That this General Assembly do assert, and will maintain, by all legal and constitutional means, the right of the states to tax the business and property of any private corporation of trade, incorporated by the Congress of the United States, and located to transact its corporate business within any state.

Resolved further, That the Bank of the United States is a private corporation of trade, the capital and business of which may be legally taxed in any state where they may be found.

Resolved further, That this General Assembly do protest against the doctrine, that the political rights of the separate states that compose the American Union, and their powers as sovereign states, may be settled and determined in the Supreme Court of the United States, so as to conclude and bind them, in cases contrived between individuals, and where they are, no one of them, parties direct. (House Journal 1821, p. 131.)

The committee made its report to the General Assembly, the resolutions were adopted, and on Jan. 29, 1821, a law was passed withdrawing from the Bank of the United States the aid and protection of the state laws.

This law provided "That from and after the 1st day of September next, it shall not be lawful for any sheriff or other keeper of a jail within this state, to receive into his custody any person arrested upon mesne process, or taken or charged in execution at the suit of the president, directors & co. of the Bank of the United States, or any person committed for or upon account of any offense alleged and charged to have been committed upon the property, rights, interests, or corporate franchises of said Bank, when acting under a law of this State.

"That * * * it shall not be lawful for any judge, justice of the peace, or other judicial officer appointed under the authority of this State, to receive any acknowledgment or proof of the acknowledgment of any deed of conveyance of any kind whatever, to which the president, directors & co. of the Bank of the United States are or may be a party, or which may be taken or made for their use; and no recorder shall receive into his office, or record any deed of conveyance of any description whatsoever, in which the said president, directors & co. of the Bank of the United States are or may be a party, or which may be made for their use, after the said first day of September next.

"It shall not be lawful for any notary public appointed under the authority of this state, to make a protest or give a notice thereof, of any promissory note, or bill of exchange, made payable to the president, directors & co. of the Bank of the United

States, endorsed to them, or made payable at any office of discount and deposit established by them in this state.

"That if any sheriff, or jailor, shall violate the provisions of the first section of this act, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of $200 for every such offense, to be recovered of him in an action of debt, by the party so received in custody. And if any judge, justice of the peace, or recorder shall do or perform any act prohibited by this act, every such judge, justice of the peace or recorder, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in office, and upon conviction thereof, upon indictment shall be fined any sum not exceeding $500 at the discretion of the Court; and if any notary public shall make a protest, or give notice thereof, of any promissory note or bill of exchange made payable to or endorsed to the Bank of the United States, or made payable at any office of discount and deposit by them established in this State, every such notary public shall be considered guilty of a misdemeanor in office, for which he shall be prosecuted by indictment and upon conviction thereof, he shall be removed from office and such shall be the judgment of the Court." (O. L. Vol. 19, pp. 108-110.)

Be it said to the honor of a few members of the Nineteenth General Assembly that this outrageous measure was not allowed to pass the Lower House without a vigorous protest, which was signed by Messrs. Vance, Cooley, Harris, Sloane, Parish and Gault.

Their statement of the case was strong and clear, and some of the points they made deserve to be noted.

"The bill * * * contains provisions in themselves so extraordinary and alarming, and is part of a system so manifestly repugnant to individual justice and the acknowledged principles upon which the Union of the States is founded—the undersigned cannot suffer it to pass without a public manifestation of their dissent. So decisive and overwhelming a majority as that by which this measure passed both branches of the Legislature, might, on ordinary occasions, well induce opposition to pause, and to doubt whether they had not taken an incorrect and improper view of the subject. But this, in the language of the select committee, 'is no ordinary case.' And the undersigned,

after having given to it all the consideration its importance demands, are so clearly satisfied of the correctness of the course they have taken, they deem it a sacred duty which they owe to themselves, their constituents and the people of the state at large, to record their decided disapprobation of the measures which have been adopted, and the reasons upon which that disapprobation is founded. * * *

"No fondness for state rights—no pride of individual opinion—should ever induce them (the people) to endanger the safety of our political union, or pass laws to legalize the commission of crime. A foreigner, an alien enemy, is entitled to protection from our laws, in his person and in his property. Should it be proposed to pass a law by which it would be lawful for any individual to rob a foreigner found within our State, or to commit a larceny upon his property, every individual would be shocked at its gross enormity; and yet it is deliberately proposed to authorize the commission of any violation of the rights of the corporation of the bank of the United States (robbery, larceny and forgery not excepted); a corporation composed of citizens of our own State and country; established under the constitution and laws of the Union, by the representatives of the people themselves; a corporation peaceably pursuing their business in our state, and arrogating to themselves no exemption but what the constituted authorities of the nation have recognized. * * *

"That the constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land; that they are paramount to the constitution or laws of any particular state, need not be now urged. This principle is the very keystone upon which the fabric of our political union rests. Destroy this, and we are no longer one government or one people. When, therefore, the constitutional powers conferred by the people upon the general government conflict with those assumed by the states, when they become absolutely inconsistent, and cannot exist together, those of the latter must yield. Any other supposition would be at war with the letter and spirit of the constitution; with the first principles upon which the union of the state is founded. * * *

"If the states themselves are to be the sole expositors in the sense contended for, of the nature of the powers conferred upon the general government, and those retained to the states, they would probably receive as many different constructions, as there are members of the American family; as the interest, the feelings or the prejudices of each might dictate. And instead of the energy, the strength, and the harmony contemplated by the Union of the States, our government would become a perfect 'hydra.' It could afford neither safety nor protection; but must either fall to pieces of its own weight or be destroyed by the discrepancy of the materials of which it is composed. * * *

"Soon after the close of the war, the charter of the old bank having been suffered to expire, the multiplicity of local banks in every section of the country, the frauds of some, and the improvidence and mismanagement of others, had introduced the utmost derangement into our circulating medium. A kind of village aristocracy was erected in almost every town. The fiscal operations of the government were embarrassed, and dissatisfaction, distrust and complaint prevailed. The paper that was current in one place for the purposes of business, would not answer in another; and general disorder, confusion and loss resulted as well to the government as to individuals. The establishment of a uniform currency, the correction of the abuses of the system of banking, and the establishment of a National Bank, was generally desired. That institution was created. A branch in this state was solicited and came among us. Then it was that hostility to the institution first began to be manifest. * * * The local institutions could no longer inundate the country with a currency that would not answer the purposes of money, and hence the outcry against an institution which seemed to show to the world the rottenness of the local banks. * * * In those states where there has not been an excess of banking; where the public have not been imposed upon by paper representing nothing but the frauds or the follies of those who issued it, no complaints have been ever heard of the operations of the Bank of the United States or its branches. * * *

"A controversy in which the state, unless she is dis-

posed to inflict a vital wound upon the Union of the States, must and will, sooner or later, abandon the grounds she has assumed, and which, the longer it is protracted, must eventuate in a deeper loss of interest and of character. Nor can we believe, when the whole proceeding is calmly viewed and thoroughly understood by the people, that they can ever sanction the measures which their representatives have adopted." (House Journal 1821, pp. 386-393.)

The case of the United States Bank vs. Ralph Osborn and others, was taken up by the United States Circuit Court at its September term, 1821, and on the 5th of September a decree was entered against Osborn for the sum of one hundred thousand dollars and interest on nineteen thousand eight hundred and thirty dollars (the specie collected), and it was ordered to be paid to the bank on or before the 6th of September. The order of the Court not being complied with, an attachment was awarded against the Treasurer (he having been made a party to the suit and the money being in his possession), he was taken into custody by the marshal of the district, and during his confinement, "a writ of sequestration was awarded, and ninety-eight thousand dollars, part of the money collected from the bank," was taken from the treasury, brought into the Court and delivered to the plaintiffs. An appeal to the Supreme Court was then arranged for by the defendants, for the two thousand dollars with the interest and costs, and when this was done the Treasurer was released from custody. (Senate Journal 1822, pp. 54-55.)

On March 19, 1824, the decree of the Circuit Court was affirmed by the Supreme Court "as to the sums of $98,000 and $2,000, but was reversed as to interest due on the coin, on the ground that while the parties were restrained by the Court from using it, they ought not to be charged with interest; and Chief Justice Marshall declared that "The act of the State of Ohio * * * is repugnant to the law of the United States, made in pursuance of the constitution, and, therefore, void." (Wheaton's Reports, 9, pp. 871, 868.)

The General Assembly of Ohio at its next session passed a resolution (January 24, 1825) authorizing the Auditor of State to

draw on the Treasurer of State in favor of the "Cashier of the Branch Bank of the United States at Chillicothe for the amount of the judgment rendered in favor of said Bank vs. Ralph Osborn and others," and that he credit "Samuel Sullivan, late treasurer of Ohio, with the sum of ninety-eight thousand dollars, being part of the sum levied and collected from the Bank of the United States, which sum was taken by writ of sequestration from the said treasurer." (O. L. Vol. 23, p. 106.)

Thus ended the conflict, after a period of six years, between Ohio and the Federal Government, the former, by its final action in the matter in 1825, accepting the doctrine "that the Federal Courts are exclusively vested with jurisdiction to declare, in the last resort, the true interpretation of the Constitution of the United States."

Ohio recovered rapidly from this temporary insanity, for in 1833, when South Carolina passed the ordinance of nullification, the Ohio Legislature passed the following resolutions in relation to the action of her sister state:

Resolved, That the doctrine that the state has the power to nullify a law of the general government, is revolutionary in its character and is in its nature calculated to overthrow the great Temple of American Liberty; such a course cannot absolve that allegiance which the people of this Union owe to the supremacy of the laws. (O. L. Vol. 31, p. 275.)

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That this Legislature do cordially approve of the exposition of the principles of the constitution of the United States, touching the pernicious doctrines of nullification and secession, set forth in the proclamation of the President of the United States, of the 10th of December last, and in his late message to Congress, and that this Legislature do also feel the strongest assurance that the principles contained in that exposition will be firmly sustained by the people of Ohio. (O. L. Vol. 31, p. 271.)

Ohio was not alone in her opposition to the United States Bank. On the 3d of February, 1818, Kentucky passed a law taxing the Bank of the United States, a branch of which had been established in Lexington. This law provided that a tax of five thousand dollars should be levied and collected annually on each office of discount and deposit located in that state. Upon the failure of the officers of the Bank to pay the amount specified, they were required "to pay to the commonwealth of Kentucky the sum of ten thousand dollars, to be recovered by

action of debt in the general court of the State." (Kentucky Laws, 1818, pp. 527, 528.)

On January 28th, 1819, this Legislature passed an act imposing a tax of sixty thousand dollars per annum, or five thousand dollars per month, on the Bank of the United States. The sergeant of the Court of Appeals was to collect this tax in case the money was not paid "or distrain the money, goods, &c." He was authorized "to break and enter any outer door or inside door of such banking house or office of discount or deposit, or any vault, drawer, chest or box in which money, goods, chattels, rights, credits, etc.," could be found and he was directed to sell these goods, chattels, etc., for ready money, or so much of them as should be necessary to discharge this tax. (K. L. 1819, pp. 637-638.)

The officers of the Bank refused to pay the tax and suit was brought against them in the General Court of the State, but the case was decided in favor of the Bank. It was then taken to the Court of Appeals and the ruling of the lower court was sustained. (Cincinnati Gazette and Liberty Hall, Dec. 21, 1819.)

The Maryland Legislature passed an act in 1818 imposing a stamp duty on the circulating notes of the United States Bank or branches thereof located in that State. The Bank refused to pay the tax and suit was brought against McCulloch, the cashier, to collect it. Judgment was recovered against him in the Baltimore County Court; he carried it to the Court of Appeals, which affirmed the judgment of the lower court. From the Court of Appeals it was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States and the decision of the lower courts was reversed, Chief Justice Marshall declaring that the law taxing the Bank of the United States was unconstitutional and void. (Wheaton's Reports, 4, p. 437.)

The states named herein are probably the only ones that asserted the doctrine of state rights in connection with the United States Bank, but not many of the older states "can boast that they have never done priest's service at the altar of state sovereignty."[3]

[3] Von Holst, Constitutional History of the U. S. Vol. 1, p. 490.

"JOHNNY APPLESEED"—JOHN CHAPMAN.

HIS MEMORY HONORED WITH A MONUMENT AT MANSFIELD, O.

Exercises of a unique and interesting character were held at Mansfield, Ohio, on the afternoon of November 8, 1900. It was the dedication in the Sherman-Heineman Park of the monument to the memory of John Chapman, otherwise and more popularly known as "Johnny Appleseed," one of the historic characters of early Ohio, and particularly of the pioneer days of Richland county. The weather was not propitious for a numerous gathering of spectators, but those who were present will ever remember the occasion with peculiar interest. The monument was a gift to the city by Hon. M. B. Bushnell,* one of the Park Commissioners. The lower part of the monument is a buff stone, and bears the inscription "In memory of John Chapman, best known as 'Johnny Appleseed,' pioneer nurseryman of Richland county from 1810 to 1830." On the opposite side are the names of the Park Commissioners. "Martin B. Bushnell, Henry M. Weaver and Roeliff Brinkerhoff, Sr., 1900." The dedicatory ceremonies were by invitation of the Park Commissioners conducted under the auspices of the Historical Society of Richland county, the members of which, in addition to the city officials, were specially invited to be present. The invocation was pronounced by the Rev. Dr. H. L. Wiles, of the First Lutheran Church. General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, one of the Park Commissioners, and President of the Ohio State Archæological Society, then made the following address:

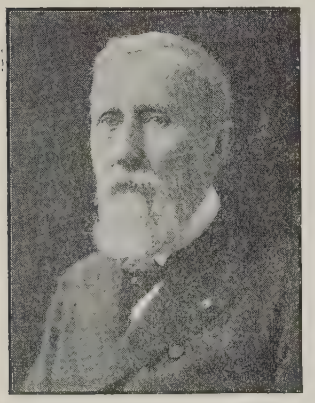
HON. M. B. BUSHNELL.

* The gentleman who erected the monument to the memory of "Johnny Appleseed" in the Sherman-Heineman Park at Mansfield, O.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL BRINKERHOFF.

General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, of the Board of Park Commissioners, in his address spoke as follows:

We have met here today to dedicate a monument to one of the earliest and most unselfish of Ohio benefactors. His name was John Chapman, but to the pioneers he was everywhere known as "Johnny Appleseed." The field of his operations, in Ohio, was mainly, the valleys of the Muskingum river and its tributaries and his mission, for the most part, was to plant apple seeds in well located nurseries, in advance of civilization and have apple trees ready for planting when the pioneers should appear.



GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF.

He also scattered through the forest the seeds of medicinal plants, such as dog-fennel, pennyroyal, catnip, hoarhound, rattlesnake root and the like.

We hear of him as early as 1806 on the Ohio river, with two canoe loads of appleseeds gathered from the cider presses of western Pennsylvania and with these he planted nurseries along the Muskingum river and its tributaries.

About 1810 he made his headquarters in that part of the old county of Richland, which is now Ashland, in Green township, and was there for a number of years and then came to Mansfield. He was a familiar figure and a welcome guest in the homes of the early pioneers. All the early orchards of Richland county were procured from the nurseries of "Johnny Appleseed."

Within the sound of my voice, where I now stand, there are a dozen or more trees that we believe are the lineal descendants of "Johnny Appleseed's" nurseries. In fact, this monument is almost within the shadow of three or four of them.

As civilization advanced "Johnny" passed on to the westward and at last, in 1847, he ended his career in Indiana and was

buried near what is now the city of Fort Wayne. To the end he was true to his mission of planting nurseries and sowing the seeds of medicinal herbs. To the pioneers of Ohio he was an unselfish benefactor and we are here today to aid in transmitting to coming generations our grateful memory of his deeds.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The historical sketch of "Johnny Appleseed" was prepared and presented by Mr. A. J. Baughman, a recognized authority in the early history of Richland county. Mr. Baughman's address was as follows:

John Chapman was born at Springfield, Mass., in the year 1775. Of his early life but little is known, as he was reticent about himself, but his half-sister, who came west at a later period, stated that Johnny had, when a boy, shown a fondness for natural scenery and often wandered from home in quest of plants and flowers and that he liked to listen to the birds singing and to gaze at the stars. Chapman's penchant for planting apple seeds and cultivating nurseries caused him to be called "Appleseed John," which was finally changed to "Johnny Appleseed," and by that name he was called and known everywhere.

A. J. BAUGHMAN.

The year Chapman came to Ohio has been variously stated, but to say it was one hundred years ago would not be far from the mark. An uncle of the late Rosella Rice lived in Jefferson county when Chapman made his first advent into Ohio, and one day saw a queer-looking craft coming down the Ohio river above Steubenville. It consisted of two canoes lashed together, and its crew was one man—an angular oddly-dressed person—and when he landed he said his name was Chapman, and that his cargo consisted of sacks of apple seeds and that he intended to plant nurseries.

Chapman's first nursery was planted nine miles below Steubenville, up a narrow valley, from the Ohio river, at Brilliant, formerly called Lagrange, opposite Wellsburg, W. Va. After planting a number of nurseries along the river front, he extended his work into the interior of the state—into Richland county—where he made his home for many years.

Chapman was enterprising in his way and planted nurseries in a number of counties which required him to travel hundreds of miles to visit and prune them yearly, as was his custom. His usual price for a tree was "a fip penny-bit," but if the settler hadn't money, Johnny would either give him credit or take old clothes for pay. He generally located his nurseries along streams, planted his seeds, surrounded the patch with a brush fence, and when the pioneers came, Johnny had young fruit trees ready for them. He extended his operations to the Maumee country and finally into Indiana, where the last years of his life were spent. He revisited Richland county the last time in 1843, and called at my father's, but as I was only five years old at the time I do not remember him.

My parents (in about 1827-'35) planted two orchards with trees they bought of Johnny, and he often called at their house, as he was a frequent caller at the homes of the settlers. My grandfather, Captain James Cunningham, settled in Richland county in 1808, and was acquainted with Johnny for many years, and I often heard him tell, in his Irish-witty way, many amusing anecdotes and incidents of Johnny's life and of his peculiar and eccentric ways.

Johnny was fairly educated, well read and was polite and attentive in manner and was chaste in conversation. His face was pleasant in expression, and he was kind and generous in disposition. His nature was a deeply religious one, and his life was blameless among his fellow men. He regarded comfort more than style and thought it wrong to spend money for clothing to make a fine appearance. He usually wore a broad-brimmed hat. He went barefooted not only in the summer, but often in cold weather, and a coffee sack, with neck and armholes cut in it was worn as a coat. He was about 5 feet, 9 inches in

height, rather spare in build, but was large boned and sinewy. His eyes were blue, but darkened with animation.

For a number of years Johnny lived in a little cabin near Perrysville (then in Richland county), but later he made his

"JOHNNY APPLESEED."

home in Mansfield with his half-sister, a Mrs. Groome, who lived on the Leesville road (now West Fourth street) near the present residence of R. G. Hancock. The parents of George C. Wise then lived near what is now the corner of West Fourth street and Penn avenue and the Groome and Wise families were friends and neighbors. George C. Wise, Hiram R. Smith, Mrs. J. H. Cook and others remember "Johnny Appleseed" quite well. Mrs. Cook was, perhaps, better acquainted with "Johnny" than any other living person today, for the Wiler House was often his stopping place. The homes of Judge Parker, Mr. Newman and others were ever open to receive "Johnny" as a guest.

But the man who best understood this peculiar character was the late Dr. William Bushnell, father of our respected fellow-townsman, the Hon. M. B. Bushnell, the donor of this beautiful commemorative monument, and by whose kindness and liberality we are here today. With Dr. Bushnell's scholastic attainments and intuitive knowledge of character he was enabled to know and appreciate Chapman's learning and the noble traits of his head and heart.

When upon his journeys "Johnny" usually camped out. He never killed anything, not even for the purpose of obtaining food. He carried a kit of cooking utensils with him, among which was a mush-pan, which he sometimes wore as a hat. When he called at a house, his custom was to lie upon the floor with his kit for a pillow and after conversing with the family a short time, would then read from a Swedenborgian book or tract, and proceed to explain and extol the religious views he so zealously believed, and whose teachings he so faithfully carried out in his every-day life and conversation. His mission was one of peace and good will and he never carried a weapon, not even for self-defense. The Indians regarded him as a great "Medicine Man," and his life seemed to be a charmed one, as neither savage men nor wild beast would harm him.

Chapman never married and rumor said that a love affair in the old Bay State was the cause of his living the life of a celibate and recluse. Johnny himself never explained why he led such a singular life except to remark that he had a mission—which was understood to be to plant nurseries and to make converts to

the doctrines taught by Emanuel Swedenborg. He died at the home of William Worth in St. Joseph township, Allen county, Indiana, March 11, 1847, and was buried in David Archer's graveyard, a few miles north of Fort Wayne, near the foot of a natural mound. His name is engraved as a cenotaph upon one of the monuments erected in Mifflin township, Ashland county, this state, to the memory of the pioneers. Those monuments were unveiled with imposing ceremony in the presence of over 6,000 people Sept. 15, 1882, the seventieth anniversary of the Copus tragedy.

During the war of 1812 Chapman often warned the settlers of approaching danger. The following incident is given: When the news spread that Levi Jones had been killed by the Indians and that Wallace Reed and others had probably met the same fate, excitement ran high and the few families which composed the population of Mansfield sought the protection of the block-house, situated on the public square, as it was supposed the savages were coming in force from the north to overrun the country and to murder the settlers.

There were no troops at the block-house at the time and as an attack was considered imminent a consultation was held and it was decided to send a messenger to Captain Douglas, at Mt. Vernon, for assistance. But who would undertake the hazardous journey? It was evening, and the rays of the sunset had faded away and the stars were beginning to shine in the darkening sky, and the trip of thirty miles must be made in the night over a new-cut road through a wilderness—through a forest infested with wild beasts and hostile Indians.

A volunteer was asked for and a tall, lank man said demurely: "I'll go." He was bareheaded, barefooted, and was unarmed. His manner was meek and you had to look the second time into his clear, blue eyes to fully fathom the courage and determination shown in their depths. There was an expression in his countenance such as limners try to portray in their pictures of saints. It is scarcely necessary to state that the volunteer was "Johnny Appleseed," for many of you have heard your fathers tell how unostentatiously "Johnny" stood as "a

watchman on the walls of Jezreel," to guard and protect the settlers from their savage foes.

The journey to Mt. Vernon was a sort of a Paul Revere mission. Unlike Paul's "Johnny's" was made on foot—barefooted—over a rough road, but one that in time led to fame.

"Johnny" would rap on the doors of the few cabins along the route, warn the settlers of the impending danger and advise them to flee to the block-house.

"Johnny" arrived safely at Mt. Vernon, aroused the garrison and informed the commandant of his mission. Surely, figuratively speaking,

> "The dun-deer's hide
> On fleeter feet was never tried,"

for so expeditiously was the trip made that at sunrise the next morning troops from Mt. Vernon arrived at the Mansfield block-house, accompanied by "Johnny," who had made the round trip of sixty miles between sunset and sunrise.

About a week before Chapman's death, while at Fort Wayne, he heard that cattle had broken into his nursery in St. Joseph township and were destroying his trees, and he started on foot to look after his property. The distance was about twenty miles and the fatigue and exposure of the journey were too much for "Johnny's" physical condition, then enfeebled by age; and at the even-tide he applied at the home of Mr. Worth for lodging for the night. Mr. Worth was a native Buckeye and had lived in Richland county when a boy, and when he learned that his oddly-dressed caller was "Johnny Appleseed" gave him a cordial welcome. "Johnny" declined going to the supper table, but partook of a bowl of bread and milk.

The day had been cold and raw with occasional flurries of snow, but in the evening the clouds cleared away and the sun shone warm and bright as it sank in the western sky. "Johnny" noticed this beautiful sun-set, an augury of the spring and flowers so soon to come and sat on the doorstep and gazed with wistful eyes toward the west. Perhaps this herald of the spring time, the season in which nature is resurrected from the death of winter, caused him to look with prophetic eyes to the future

and contemplate that glorious event of which Christ is the resurrection and the life. Upon re-entering the house, "Johnny" declined the bed offered him for the night, preferring a quilt and pillow on the floor, but asked permission to hold family worship and read "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven," "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," etc.

After he had finished reading the lesson, he said prayers—prayers long remembered by that family. He prayed for all sorts and conditions of men; that the way of righteousness might be made clear unto them and that saving grace might be freely given to all nations. He asked that the Holy Spirit might guide and govern all who profess and call themselves Christians and that all those who were afflicted in mind, body or estate, might be comforted and relieved, and that all might at last come to the knowledge of the truth and in the world to come have happiness and everlasting life. Not only the words of the prayer, but the pathos of his voice made a deep impression upon those present.

In the morning "Johnny" was found in a high state of fever, pneumonia having developed during the night, and the physician called said he was beyond medical aid, but inquired particularly about his religious belief, and remarked that he had never seen a dying man so perfectly calm, for upon his wan face there was an expression of happiness and upon his pale lips there was a smile of joy, as though he was communing with loved ones who had come to meet him and to soothe his weary spirit in his dying moments. And as his eyes shone with the beautiful light supernal God touched him with his finger and beckoned him home.*

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* John Chapman was buried at Ft. Wayne, Indiana, in the year 1847, according to the history of Richland county, by A. A. Graham (page 266). He had been a resident of that vicinity for some seventeen years. He was buried by Mr. Worth and neighbors in David Archer's grave yard, two and one-half miles north of Ft. Wayne. A letter of October 4, 1900, from John H. Archer, grandson of David Archer, states that the account in Mr. Graham's history is practically correct. John Archer says in his letter:

"During his life and residence in this vicinity I suppose that every man, woman and child knew something of "Johnny Appleseed." I find

Thus ended the life of the man who was not only a hero, but a benefactor as well; and his spirit is now at rest in the Paradise of the Redeemed, and in the fullness of time, clothed again in the old body made anew, will enter into the Father's house in which there are many mansions. In the words of his own faith, his bruised feet will be healed, and he shall walk on the gold-paved streets of the New Jerusalem of which he so eloquently preached. It has been very appropriately said that although years have come and gone since his death, the memory of his good deeds live anew every springtime in the beauty and fragrance of the blossoms of the apple trees he loved so well.

"Johnny Appleseed's" death was in harmony with his unostentatious, blameless life. It is often remarked, "How beautiful is the Christian's life; yea, but far more beautiful is the Christian's death," when "the fashion of his countenance is altered," as he passes from the life here to the life beyond.

What changes have taken place in the years that have intervened between the "Johnny Appleseed" period and today! It has been said that the lamp of civilization far surpasses that of Aladdin's. Westward the star of empire took its way and changed the forests into fields of grain and the waste places into gardens of flowers and towns and cities have been built with marvelous handiwork. But in this march of progress the struggles and hardships of the early settlers must not be forgotten. Let us not only record the history, but the legends of the pioneer period; garner its facts and its fictions; its tales and traditions and collect even the crumbs that fall from the table of the feast.

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that there are quite a number of persons yet living here that remember him well and enjoy relating reminiscences and peculiarities of his habits and life. The historical account of his death and burial by the Worths and their neighbors, the Pettits, Goinges, Porters, Notestems, Parkers, Beckets, Whitesides, Pechons, Hatfields, Parrants, Ballards, Randsells and the Archers in David Archer's private burial grounds is substantially correct. The grave, more especially the common headboards used in those days, have long since decayed and become entirely obliterated, and at this time I do not think that any person could with any degree of certainty come within fifty feet of pointing out the location of his grave. Suffice it to say that he has been gathered in with his neighbors and friends, as I have enumerated, for the majority of them lie in David Archer's graveyard with him."

To-day, the events which stirred the souls and tried the courage of the pioneers seem to come out of the dim past and glide as panoramic views before me. A number of the actors in those scenes were of my "kith and kin" who have long since crossed over the river in their journey to the land where Enoch and Elijah are pioneers, while I am left to exclaim:

"Oh, for the touch of a vanished hand
And the sound of a voice that is still."

While the scenes of those pioneer days are vivid to us on history's page, future generations may look upon them as the phantasmagoria of a dream.

At 72 years of age—46 of which had been devoted to his self-imposed mission—John Chapman ripened into death as naturally and as beautifully as the apple seeds of his planting had grown into trees, had budded into blossoms and ripened into fruit. The monument which is now to be unveiled is a fitting memorial to the man in whom there dwelt a comprehensive love that reached downward to the lowest forms of life and upward to the throne of the Divine.

At the close of Mr. Baughman's address the monument was unveiled by Major Brown, of Mansfield, after which a quartet, consisting of Charles H. Harding, Dr. C. N. Miles, Major Fred S. Marquis and E. W. Dann, sang "Onward and Upward," and the exercises closed with the singing by all present of "America."

"JOHNNY APPLESEED" ADDENDUM.

E. O. RANDALL, EDITOR.

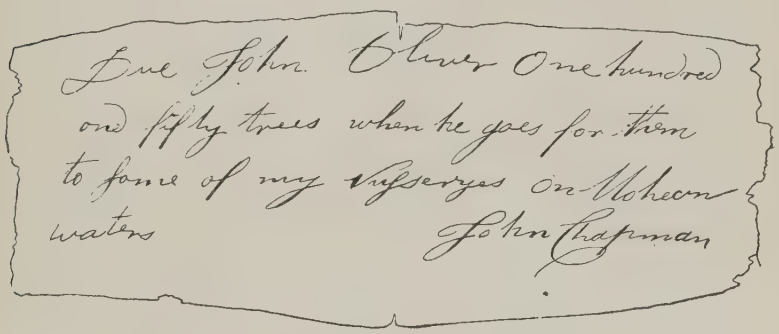
From several sources, more or less authentic, much interesting information may be collated concerning "Johnny Appleseed." He pursued his special calling for many years throughout the central and eastern portions of Ohio, particularly in Knox, Richland, Wayne and Ashland counties, or in the territory since known as these counties, and it is from the histories of these counties that we rely largely for fragmentary descriptions

of the peculiar personality and eccentric experiences of John Chapman.

The early history of John Chapman is veiled in obscurity and for some unknown reason he never disclosed the events of his youth. He was of New England ancestry and undoubtedly well educated, for he was a good reader and a ready talker, indeed at times is said to have been eloquent, especially when discoursing upon "fine fruit and the spiritual theories of his beloved Swedenborg," whose beliefs he espoused.

Aside from his odd hobby of planting apple seeds, which was probably the origin of the first nurseries in this part of the country, as well as the means of supplying the pioneers with that popular and nutritious fruit, John Chapman was interesting because of his strange habits, fantastic mode of attire, and unique manner of living. His clothing was sparse, singular and generally antique. He claimed that man should only be clothed to conceal his nakedness and not for comfort, much less display. His wardrobe was usually but the second hand refuse garments which he had taken in exchange for young apple trees. At times his main garment consisted of a coffee sack, through apertures of which he might thrust his head and arms. On one occasion it is reported a pair of shoes was given him which shortly afterwards he offered to a barefooted western traveler, who he said needed them worse than he. For a hat or covering he wore for a long time a tin pan, which he would use, as occasion required, in the cooking of his frugal meal. This was subsequently superseded by a head covering of a pasteboard "tile" so cut as to give a wider rim on one side than the other, this to protect his features from the glare of the sun. In this anomalous attire he traversed the country visiting the natives for the purpose of plying his appleseed profession. His gentleness of manner and generosity of disposition, always made him a welcome guest wherever he was known, and whenever he would accept hospitality, which was seldom. But in his ideas of living and of society he was the pioneer Thoreau of his times. He preferred to live alone. He enjoyed the solitude of the woods and the companionship of the forest animals rather than that of a fellow-man. While traversing the woods in which he spent

a large part of his time, he carried with him an axe, a hatchet and a Virginia hoe, with which he cleared the underbrush, and dug in the loamy or rich soil, usually along the banks of some stream. In these cleared spots he would plant his apple seeds and start a nursery. While most of this work was done *pro bono publico* it was also his only source of subsistence. With a restless and roving disposition he kept moving from point to point scattering his nurseries along the streams or highways for even hundreds of miles. He seldom sold his wares for money, but usually exchanged them for such articles of clothing or food as he actually needed. We were so fortunate as to obtain an autograph order of John Chapman, which we here produce.



His diet was that of the vegetarian. His meals consisted of berries, nuts, the native fruits of the country and little corn bread or mush made from meal, for which he had traded a handful of apple seeds.

In philosophy he was a stoic, and assumed to bear pain with stolid indifference. If he bruised or wounded his foot among stones or thorns, it is said his first remedial application was a red hot iron to the afflicted part, by which it was seared. He was an intense lover of every variety of God's creatures, and to kill even the most repellant or useless form of animal life for any purpose, was to him a sin. If he saw an animal maltreated, or heard of it, he would buy it and give it to some more humane settler, with the condition that it be kindly treated. He deserved to be the patron saint of the Humane Society, of which

he was certainly the earliest forerunner. Emigrants who traveled from the east to the west passing in his vicinity would often cast off their decrepit or worn out horses, leaving them to starve or forage for themselves. As the blight of winter drew near, Chapman would corral these outcast brutes and bargain for their care and protection with some farmer until the coming spring. It is further recorded that he would never sell these poor and despised animals, but if any of them recovered their strength, so as to be valuable, he would lend them or give them away, exacting a promise from the recipient that the dumb beast should ever receive kind treatment. This sympathy with the lower life and sacred respect for its existence was carried in "Johnny Appleseed" to an almost preposterous extent. At one time in relating the circumstance of being bitten by a rattle snake he said: "Poor fellow, he only just touched me when I in the heat of my ungodly passion put the heel of my scythe in him and went away. Some time afterward I went back and there lay the poor fellow dead." That death was the cause of deep regret to Johnny, and he never referred to it without the feeling of great sorrow. At one time when camping out he kindled a fire for the comforts of home, when he noticed that the blaze was a drawing card for a large audience of mosquitoes, "seeking whom they might devour." Many of these naturally were lured into the flames and burned. Chapman, without delay, brought water from a near stream or spring and extinguished the fire, saying, "God forbid that I should build a fire for my comfort which should be the means of destroying any of his creatures." At another time he started a fire near a hollow log in the dead of winter, when he discovered that within the log a bear and cubs had taken refuge. Rather than disturb the peaceful slumbers of bruin and family he put out the fire and spent the night upon the snow. Many similar instances might be related of his self-sacrifice and even endangerment of life, in behalf of the protection and preservation of the humblest creatures of the primeval forest. The most cursory knowledge of the life and belief of "Johnny Appleseed" is convincing as to his innate tenderness of heart and childlike simplicity of faith. He loved nature in all her forms with a passionate devotion. It is everywhere to be

inferred, where not actually stated, that in spite of his grotesque apparel, unnatural manner of living and crude method of dealing, he was nevertheless greatly respected by all who came in contact with him. Indeed some of his would be biographers have the testimony of those who knew him, that he was a man of strong character, deep philosophy, and solely impelled by the motives of humanity and benevolence. His religious tenets, such as they were, were not "orthodox," but were the essence of primitive Christianity, namely, love thy neighbor as thyself. Like Thoreau, he did not wish to acquire property. He had no use for worldly goods. He constantly gave away, for the welfare of others, whatever possessions he might acquire. His purchase of three acres of land in Ashland county—in what is now known as the little town of Lake Fork—is the single and isolated instance in which Chapman ever invested any surplus capital in real estate. It is an odd sequence that the deed to Chapman was lost before being recorded, and the tract was never transferred upon the Auditor's books. Chapman started a nursery upon the land, which, upon his leaving it, passed to other hands through the defect in the title. John Chapman was a marvelous and paradoxical mixture of noble and unconventional traits. It is a pity that we have not a complete account of his life replete as it undoubtedly was with good deeds. He was a benefactor of his race. He served his day and generation to the best of his ability and opportunity. No man could do better.

So he kept traveling, far and wide,
"Till his old limbs failed him and he died.
He said, at last: "'Tis a comfort to feel
I've done some good in the world, though not a great deal."

Weary travelers, journeying West,
In the shade of his trees find pleasant rest.
And often they start with glad surprise
At the rosy fruit that around them lies.

And if they inquire whence came such trees,
Where not a bough once swayed in the breeze,
The reply still comes, as they travel on,
"These trees were planted by Appleseed John."

(From the poem "Appleseed John," by Lydia Maria Child.)

HUDSON CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

HUDSON, OHIO, JUNE 5, 1900.

The city of Hudson, Ohio, Summit county, celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its settlement on the date noted above. The following account of that interesting occasion is prepared mainly from the record of the proceedings furnished us by the courtesy of Prof. W. I. Chamberlain. We are indebted to Mrs. Edwin P. Gregory of Hudson for a copy of the portrait of her grandfather, David Hudson; and to Prof. H. W. Woodward for a photograph of the oil portrait of Heman Oviatt, now in the possession of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.—E. O. R., Editor.

The day was all that could have been desired, one of the most delightful June productions. Throngs of former Hudson residents, representing all parts of the country, had returned to their former home to join in the memories and festivities of the celebration. Nearly two thousand persons registered their presence in the register provided for that purpose. Some seven hundred attended the literary and musical exercises at the church, while more than a thousand participated in the dinner which was spread in the huge tent erected in the park. The exercises of the day were inaugurated in the morning by a procession which formed in the Hudson Park and marched to the Congregational Church. The participants were the Hudson Military Band, the school children, with teachers, members of the societies, speakers, citizens and visitors. The Hon. W. I. Chamberlain presided over the various exercises of the day. After appropriate music of both instrumental and vocal character, the invocation was pronounced by the Rev. George Darling, pastor of the Hudson Congrega-

HON. W. I. CHAMBERLAIN.

tional Church (1858-1873 inclusive). The Rev. Charles W. Carroll read the Scriptures (122nd Psalm) and offered the Centennial prayer. The address of the day was delivered by Dr. Ebenezer Bushnell who, Prof. Chamberlain said in introducing him, "graduated in college (Western Reserve) here 54 years ago, and married a Hudson girl, the daughter of Deacon Sylvester Baldwin, 50 years ago."

DR. BUSHNELL'S ADDRESS.

There are people to whom their ancestors have become the gods they worship. Excess and misguidance of veneration have degenerated into superstition of the basest description. But this is only the degradation of that which is, in itself, noble and elevating in human nature. By the impulses of nature parents take an interest in the well-being of their children, and strive to rear them for the best. By like impulses we look back to those who have preceded us with affectionate regard, and attribute to them all excellent characteristics, all lofty and inspiring actions. It is well thus. He who can be proud of his forefathers is wont to feel that honorable things are rightly demanded of him. He must be worthy of those who have done what they could to make his sojourn on earth comfortable, successful, with a benediction for the future.

But, to be duly impressed by the story of the fathers we need somewhat more than the bare facts and figures which detail their course. We need to picture to our imagination the incidents of their lives. Let them leap upon the stage before our eyes. Let us look upon the progress of their toils. Let us hear their shouts of encouragement and stimulation, their songs of cheer, their sighs of sorrow, and their tender words of mutual sympathy. Thus entering into their experience, we may the more faithfully carry on every worthy work which they have laid down at the feet of our truth and industry—for us still to push forward. So are the generations bound together into one whole, and human progress is a thing of perennial growth. So each generation becomes a foundation on which its successor may build, broader and higher.

A township was bought 101 years ago, by three men, one of whom was David Hudson. It had, as yet, no name, but, like a convict on a prison-galley, was numbered. Its designation was "Township 4, Range 10." It had cost 34 cents per acre.

The next problem was to find this land, then to subdue and develop it. To this task Mr. Hudson devoted himself. Collecting a suitable number of helpers he set out on the journey. In these days we cover this distance in twenty-four hours. It took them just about forty times as long. You may follow them making their way to Lake Ontario—to the Niagara river, drawing their goods and boats around the mighty cataract, and to a safe distance above the rapids. Then, conquering an ice-gorge, see them wending their toilsome way along the southern shore of Lake Erie. Mostly rowing, sometimes hoisting a blanket for a sail, once driven on shore in a heavy wind and losing a portion of their provisions, they finally reached the Cuyahoga river. The water being at a low stage, they were often obliged to get out of the boat and push it over shallow places. Ten days were consumed in ascending to the mouth of Brandywine creek, where, one night, they were robbed of a quantity of flour, pork, whiskey and other valuables. Six days were then spent in finding the west line of the township. They who have never attempted to find and follow a surveyor's line, merely blazed on trees, in an unbroken forest, will not be able to appreciate the seriousness of this undertaking.

But at last Mr. Hudson and his company have planted foot upon the soil of "Township 4, Range 10." A sense of victory swells their breasts with satisfaction. You can imagine the intrepid man's soliloquy:

> "This is the forest primeval, the towering oaks and the beeches,
> Poplars and maples, chestnuts, glowering walnuts and elm-trees,
> Stand like grim old giants of fable, forbidding our coming,
> Sternly denying our lordship, laughing to scorn axe and ploughshare,
> All the same down they must come and meekly yield to the victor,
> No longer wood-strength, but muscle and brain-power shall here hold dominion."

And at the task they valiantly went. Those who came and joined the settlement within the next fourteen years have been

accounted pioneers. Names of seventy-three are given, the prevailing names being Hudson, Bishop, Hollenbeck, Darrow, Gaylord, Oviatt, Thompson, Pease, Leach, Kilbourne, Kellogg, Lusk, Brown, Whedon, Holcomb, Post, Johnson, Chamberlain, Stone, Baldwin, Kingsbury, Ellsworth, Metcalf, Cobb, Mills, Case.

Certainly the primitive dwellings were log-cabins, and the manner of life was very plain and simple, though none the less respectable for that. They were without some things of which we possess plenty. They had no friction matches, probably only the old-fashioned tinder-boxes. In the old times the fire-problem was not without difficulty. Mr. Hudson complains in one place that he lost his fire in a wet time while on his travels. How to renew it? After being thoroughly settled in homes the pioneers must carefully cover the fire at night. Suppose it should go out! If neighbors were near enough, John or Robert must take a shovel and start off to "borrow some fire." Our pioneers did not have inflammable gas, light-giving, in their homes, only tallow candles, holding a "bee" two or three times a year to "dip" a supply of candles. They had no water-pipes; water was brought into the house, in pails. Manifestly the pioneers had no hot-air furnaces, no steam-heat, no baseburners. But such magnanimous fire-places! with great back-logs, and fore-sticks. A wild turkey properly prepared and suspended on a cord before the vigorous fire could be roasted to a turn, equal to the cooking of a most accomplished range. In time the tin reflector came as a god-send to the housewife. All these things are passed away, even to the wild turkeys.

But these people had some things which we lack, and which the younger ones among us would like to witness as curiosities, e. g., the flax-brake, requiring the labor of a muscular man to operate. It broke up the stalks of the plant into short pieces. Then the swingle, which separated the woody portions from the fiber. When this was done the outcome held up in a full hand would inform you why you call your little girl a "flaxen-haired" damsel.

As one journeys now over these highways of a winter day, he no longer hears the thump of the flail in the barn, as the farmer

pounds out his wheat from the bundles, nor the hum of the spinning-wheel as the wife or daughter spins the rolls into yarn for knitting or weaving. This work is now done by machinery. Such is the progress of human improvement. Now the descendants of that generation ride to church in carriages, like nabobs as they are, not in ox-carts, nor on bob-sleds. Traversing these roads and swinging scythes in these fields appeared the stalwart form of Horace Metcalf, and the lesser but not less industrious persons of the Browns, Oviatts, Thompsons, and the rest, too numerous to mention. The sick were ministered to in excursions by day or night, in rain or sunshine, in heat and cold by Drs. Moses Thompson, Jonathan Metcalf, Israel Town. The early physicians of a community, such as this was, grow into the family-life and the heart-affections of those to whom they faithfully minister.

It is worth while to remark the results of the combined efforts of the men who at that early date in the history of the Western Reserve stood for everything good and virtuous and godly in the community. Those whom you especially commemorate today stand, in the annals of the whole region, as an integral portion of the army which contended for everything good, honorable and substantial. Numbers of these men were ministers. As I have looked over the history I have been surprised at the extent to which it seems to me the communities were moulded into all forms of intelligence and virtue, by such men as Harvey Coe, Caleb Pitkin, Ansel R. Clark, Dan'l C. Blood, Simeon Woodruff, Ephraim T. Woodruff, Wm. Hanford, John Seward, Dexter Witter, Alfred Newton and Enoch Conger.

It would be by no means seemly or just to forbear the acknowledgement of what was done in the pioneer days by the women. The average man's wife is as brave and as sensible and as persistent as he is, and oftentimes a good deal better. And the average man is better and stronger for having at his elbow a courageous helper.

Mrs. Harvey Baldwin, daughter of Mr. Hudson, being the first white child born in the township, deserves to be accounted the most genuine, simon-pure, pioneer of the whole. She lived

and died here in a good old age, the exemplification and embodiment of all womanly gentleness and godliness. Many a young man became for a time an inmate of her family. I believe every such an one was charmed with her motherly excellence. Gentle souls may be born in rude circumstances, and live in simple fashion.

Of the wife of Heman Oviatt it is said that she exerted a most salutary influence over the Indians who frequented the neighborhood. Being acquainted with the languages of three of their tribes, she could hold conversation with them, and by uniform kindness shown them she softened their manners and made them more agreeable and safer neighbors. At one time she rode on horseback to Warren to testify in court in defense of one or two wrongfully or excessively accused. The kindness was afterwards repaid her by one of the Indians who brought her a remedy for some illness with which she was afflicted. But she fell by the way, dying before she reached the age of forty years.

These women are not named because they were alone in the community, as examples of all good and noble qualities. Other names stand with theirs on the roll of honor, as Rebecca Wilcox, Polly Kellogg Pease, Mary Thompson Hazeltine, Aurelia Kellogg Peck, Sarah P. Brewster, Theodosia Ingersoll. One might almost say "From one know all."

These men and women lived in cabins, with oiled paper for window-glass, though Mr. Hudson had brought glass, with puncheon-floors under their feet, and home-made clothing upon their persons. They contended against wild animals and wild men. A rude mortar made of a tree stump with a billet of wood suspended over it as a pestle, with which corn was broken up into hominy, graced the door-yard of one of the pioneer ministers, and when a young man—a bit wild, I calculate—asked him what it was, he replied—"That? That's priest-craft." They gathered the sap for making maple sugar in wooden troughs, hauled it to the "sugar-camp" on rude sleds and boiled it in iron kettles. They worked hard, had a good time, drank some whiskey, no doubt, ate pork, and endured—lasting, on an average, the life-time of two generations and more.

Among these early settlers was Owen Brown, the stuttering father of John Brown. I have heard it said that he never stuttered when engaged in prayer—not because he did not pray, for he did. Probably little mention would be made of him if it were not for the eccentricities of his son. Nor do I now care to discuss the son at length. It is the grimmest joke of the century that John Brown was able, by his ridiculous crusade, to throw Virginia into such mortal terror. Had. Gov. Wise and his people been New England Yankees, they would have drummed John Brown out of the state to the tune of the rogue's march, and made him ridiculous. They did not think of that. No, by offering him pardon if he would promise not to do it again, they brought out noble heroism, and by executing him they made him a martyr. He is now not notorious, but famous, and they are the laughing stock of the age, and we are not ashamed of John Brown today. And so "his soul goes marching on."

It will certainly be fitting for the student looking into the pioneer times to consider Hudson, not only by itself alone, but also in its connection with the Reserve as a whole. It is to be remembered that nearly the whole of it was peopled by men and women of the same origin, and alike in opinions, and tastes and habits. A bond of sympathy, therefore, made them one people. I am led to think of this by noting that Mr. Hudson was accustomed to make a sort of mission excursion into other places for the purpose of promoting religious movements and building up Christian churches. There were men in various portions of the Reserve who were early given to labors for every good cause, for example, Dr. Peter Allen, of Kinsman, Dea. Meriman Cook, of Burton, Jonathan Baldwin, of Atwater, Rev. Mr. Meriam, of Randolph, Judge Brown, of Brownhelm, and others, whose united efforts gave unity and solidity to the whole, and made the Western Reserve a moral and political entity, as well as a spiritual force. Of Mr. Baldwin it is said that when it became known that he had determined to come to Ohio, his minister, the Rev. Seth Williston, D. D., exacted of him a promise that he would not settle in any township where there was a minister He came to Kingsville, where two sisters and their husbands bought farms and made their homes. But there

was a minister there and so Mr. Baldwin came on to Atwater, where there was no minister. Then took place what the sagacious pastor had foreseen. Mr. Baldwin soon became restive under the absence of public worship. He gathered his neighbors at his own house on Sundays, read sermons and led them in worship. It was not very long before the minister followed, then the church. And fifty years ago, the pastor, then in Atwater (Rev. Elias Sharp) said "Dea. Baldwin was the father of everything good in Atwater." One of his sons was afterwards a Deacon in this (the Hudson) church. Another, after a ministry of seventeen years in New York city, became the first president of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana.

The pioneers came, mostly, if not wholly, from New England. Well, in those days postage on a single letter was 25c, and as late as the forties postage on a letter from any point in the state was 12½c. The decimal currency was not in use. The coins were 6¼c, 12½c, 25c, 50c, $1.00, and not a great many of them. Postage was seldom prepaid, and sometimes it was not encouraging to find a letter in the postoffice demanding 25c. postage, and your pocket-book empty. There were no envelopes, and only a single piece of paper could be put into a letter. Few of the younger people of this day, I think, could fold an old-time sheet of letter paper so as to present it shapely and economical of writing space. It was not till about 1850 that postage was brought down to 5c, then to 3c, then to 2c, and letters and packages were gauged by weight, and the use of envelopes became lawful and customary.

As regards the inner character and motives of these pioneers, probably the severest criticism that could be passed upon them would be to say—they were much like other people. Yet, Mr. Hudson, at least, was peculiar in his experience and purposes. He said that he had formerly entertained sentiments of skepticism, and had exerted his influence against Christianity. Having become, however, himself a Christian, he wished to counteract skepticism by exerting himself to build up the faith which he had labored to destroy. Hence his constant and consistent effort to establish the institutions and customs of intelligence, virtue and religion. Naturally he would seek to ally with him-

self those whose views and purposes were consonant with his own. No doubt there were skeptical and even unworthy characters in early Hudson. But they do not appear prominently and are scarcely worthy of mention, only to say that they did not exert the formative influences which constructed the ruling features of society. It seems to me remarkable that the church was organized within two years after the first settlement of the township. We are told that the church was organized in 1802, by the Rev. Joseph Badger. This man appears as a laborious missionary on the Western Reserve and west of that at an early date. He was a pioneer everywhere. It was he who, ascending the Sandusky river in a rude boat of his own construction, was overtaken by nightfall before he could reach a settlement for which he was bound. He had no food, and quaintly wrote—"Having nothing to eat we had patience for supper." Some time not far from 1860 the then synod of the Western Reserve, being informed that Mr. Badger's grave, on the banks of the Maumee, was destitute of a stone to mark it, contributed, man by man, one dollar each for the erection of a monument worthy of the work and character of the man.

So the church was organized. The first minister is said to have been Rev. David Bacon, the man who controlled the settlement of Tallmadge township, and illustrated there the influence of God-fearing principle in the organizing of a community. But the Hudson church appears not to have had an installed pastor till 1815. Rev. Wm. Hanford was installed August 17 of that year, and continued in the pastorate sixteen years. He was a man of immovable principle, earnest piety, sound judgment, and, withal, keen intellect. The church flourished under his hand. One incident has interested me. On the 30th of September, 1817, Mr. Hanford was married to a lady whom I take to have belonged to the numerous family of Wrights, of Tallmadge, a great family of singers. At any rate the marriage ceremony was performed by the Tallmadge minister, the Rev. Simeon Woodruff. The next day Mr. Hanford did a like service for Mr. Woodruff, marrying him to Miss Mary Granger. The specially interesting element to me in these incidents is that

my wife is a daughter of this Mr. Woodruff, the only surviving member of a family of thirteen children.

The church edifice in Hudson was erected in 1820. A large share of material prosperity is indicated by the ability to erect so costly a building as that was. But the style of it! Peace to the departed shades of that style. It had immense, fluted pillars to support the roof, between which a portion of the congregation could see the pulpit, circular pews with perpendicular backs in the middle of the house, and square old pews around the walls. At a public meeting held in it for some purpose Judge Van R. Humphrey presided. The Judge was a stalwart six-footer. He stood on a platform one step high and by the least mite of a stoop he stood under the pulpit. Yet the pulpit had been lowered three feet, as the marks of the old stairs on the walls testified. When, afterwards, a floor was thrown across, making a basement underneath, the window of the original pulpit served for the new one! The pulpit and the pews had come up to the light! The first time I entered the old church it seemed to me as severe and uncomfortable a place of worship as the grimmest old Puritan could desire.

It appears that one of the most acceptable ministers who preached in that house was the Rev. Giles Doolittle, who labored from 1832 to 1841. Thereafter he was laid aside by feeble health, and died shortly afterwards. This church with its appointments, and its constant maintenance of religion and education and practical godliness, has been and is now a substantial, indispensable, ever honorable element of Hudson's high character, of its business solidity, and its prospects for future prosperity.

In 1826 came the college. The "Erie Literary Society," coming thus early into existence, testifies to the appreciation of education on the part of the settlers. It appears to have been composed of members from all portions of the Reserve, but especially the northeastern part. A beginning was made, and an academy was founded in Burton. But before a college charter was procured the building erected in Burton for the use of the academy was burned, and the impression gained prevalence that the place was unhealthy, and several causes seem to have combined to lead a committee appointed to determine the

location of the proposed college to abandon Burton and choose Hudson. In the very month of June, 1850, in which the semi-centennial was held, it occurred that I became a resident of Burton, where for seven years the surviving persons who had been interested in drawing the college to that location where my parishioners. There I first learned about the Erie Literary Society and the early history of the institution. I wish to say that these things were mentioned only incidentally to me, and that not by prominent actors in the events. Undoubtedly the people there felt aggrieved that the college was located elsewhere after all they had done, and especially hurt by the allegation against the healthfulness of their locality. But their interest in the cause of education was not quenched. The list of donors of substantial sums to the funds of Western Reserve College contains the names of Judge Peter Hitchcock, his son, Reuben Hitchcock, also a judge, of Gov. Seabury Ford, Henry H. Ford, George Boughton, Myron Beard, Rev. Dexter Witter. And from this very cluster of families came the third president of the college, the Rev. Henry Lawrence Hitchcock, D. D., the gentlest, sweetest, purest, most godly of men, very like unto his godly mother. All ye who knew him loved him. You could not help it. He drew men to him and to the college, and made himself a benediction to all who came within his reach.

But, in the first attempt to procure a charter there occurred a marvel. Half the proposed trustees were ministers of the Gospel. The legislature seems to have contained some men of infidel sentiments, who determined to oppose granting a charter under which education would be controlled by clerical influence, and they succeeded in making the charter exclude all religious instruction. Of course this was not acceptable. The matter was laid before Judge Brown, of Brownhelm, by the Rev. Caleb Pitkin, and the two went to Columbus to get a change made. The judge afterward sent the minister home, saying that a sinner could manage a legislature better than a saint. He himself remained and procured a charter which was acceptable.

The college had difficulty in procuring a president. After some previous appointments had been made to no purpose, the Rev. C. B. Storrs became president. He is witnessed unto as

a lovable, excellent man, and satisfied the requirements made upon him. But he was a victim of consumption, and after a short term of office passed away and left the position vacant. Those who read the poems of Whittier may find among them a glowing tribute to the memory and work of President Storrs.

I cannot go into the story of the differences of opinion which sprung up and disturbed the harmony and work of the college in regard to the subject of anti-slavery. I once heard President Pierce say he thought that trouble might have been averted. Whether that be true or not, and without saying whether the trustees were or were not over-conservative on the subject, I wish to indorse one point of their sentiment, viz., that the proper business of a college student is to study, get his lessons, and recite them, thus rigidly training himself for the future, and not go scouring the country to give half-hatched lectures. In short, Mr. Mower, before you go into the hay-field grind your scythe.

Though we are supposed to be dealing now with pioneers, it would not be fair to pass by the work of President Pierce. His was a pioneer work in the raising of endowment funds. He was much away from home on this business. Take the mere names and numbers of his "Record of Donations" as a skeleton, and let your imagination clothe it with the flesh and blood of his talking and speaking and his experiences. You follow him all over New England, in Boston, in New York. Many a novel is not half so interesting, nor a tenth part so instructive and profitable.

Within these last one hundred years methods have changed. If "Township 4, Range 10," were now to be settled and subdued, first of all a railroad would be pushed up into it or its neighborhood, and all goods and supplies forwarded over it. But the railroad was fifty years in coming. The old-time method entailed the sacrifices, hardships, high prices of imported goods, distance from market, of which we are often told. The procurement of the single article of salt, e. g., was attended with great labor and cost of time.

But it does not follow that the method of pioneering now in vogue is any better for the health or the virtue of the people

than the plan of old. We live faster than the fathers lived. Whether, on the whole, we live better, is not so easily to be granted. It is said that some one reproached an old Greek because he did not come of an old, aristocratic family. "Is it not enough," he replied, "that I begin the family?"

Mr. Hudson, in his diary, gave expression to his sense of responsibility which lay upon him in leading others into situations of peril, where they would be dependent on him for protection. This community is indebted to him for the noble character which led him to devote himself, with care and self-denial, to the establishment of a society, laying the foundations of commercial, educational, and religious stability and progress, and caring, not for himself alone, but for his companions.

Now friends, you can hardly say, with Longfellow in his "Haunted Houses," "There are more guests at table than the hosts invited." You have invited by name, the memories of "Owners and occupants of earlier dates." You are striving to mingle their personalities, their thoughts, their principles, their actions, with your own in these commemorative festivities. They do not appear to your bodily senses. You do not see their forms, nor hear their voices. You do not take them by the hand. But you welcome the thought of them. You revere the remembrance of their deeds, their character. "The forest primeval" is long since laid low. But they who wielded the axe, and who drove the plowshare through the virgin soil, though they sleep in your church-yards—"in your hearts they perish not." And they now make themselves felt in this congregation no less sensibly than we feel each others' presence. So it is, so be it ever with those who do something fit to be held in remembrance. Not, indeed, in the outward incidents or conditions, but in the inward essentials we do hold converse with those who have, before us, done so well their work, and left us their inheritance.

I understand, as well as any, that this is not a distinctively religious occasion. I would not make it so, even if I were able.

But what do we here? We are seeking to take our place in the on-goings of an hundred years. We are rising on the crest of the last wave of a century, doing obeisance to those

who lived a century ago, and shouting cheer to those who shall live a century hence. No earnest man can thus put himself and his life between the past and the future without moving the profoundest sentiments of his soul. You *must* feel yourself in the presence of the Great Power who rolls along the billows of the stream of time. You must feel that every man has an honorable place to fill, a great duty to perform, and a legacy to bequeath to posterity — not a legacy, perhaps, of dollars, or of acres, or of flocks and herds, but of noble thoughts, exalted deeds and sentiments which shall contribute to the nobleness and happiness of those who shall come after.

These are not sentiments of lamentation over the frailty of human nature, but of exultation over the dignity of manhood, and the grandeur of the deeds which human hearts and lives may perform.

The world will go on, like a river to its ocean. Men will grow better, nobler, more lofty in principle and purpose. There is no occasion, then, to lament, but every reason to glory, while we see that

> "Other men our land will till
> "And others then our streets will fill,
> "And other birds will sing as gay,
> "And bright the sunshine as to-day,
> "A hundred years to come."

The Centennial Ode was given by Elizabeth Shaw, granddaughter of Rev. James Shaw, D. D., who graduated from Western Reserve College in 1834.

THE PIONEER.

(BY ELIZABETH SHAW.)

The Pioneer went from the firelight that fell
  On the hearthstone he loved the best,
From hand-clasp and music and Sabbath bell,
  To go—where the sun goes—West.
The stars on their way from Atlantic's cold spray
  O'er the proud Appalachian's crest
Stretched long fingers of light through the dusk of the night

To point the place of their rest
In the West,
The far-away place of their rest.
The Pioneer followed the march of the spheres;
In his footprints veiled History sped;
And today, through the echoes of hurrying years,
We hear the far sound of his tread.
Clear-eyed and fearless and steadfast,
The Pioneer went to his labors:
Not fiercely, to wring with a desperate hand from reluctant Nature
A pittance for daily needs, but with kingly tread advancing
Down the snow-paved halls of the forest, his axe-scepter raised in command.
Storm-pruned, like the trees that he hewed, and, like, them, with strong frame ice-armored,
Gnarled limbs that feared not the cold and skin like the bark of a sapling,—
What wonder that maple and beech bowed in humble submission before him?
The fresh-hewn wood breathed its fragrance to welcome the newly crowned monarch,
And even the bleeding stumps in his backward pathway arrayed them
In court robes of velvet lichens to honor the tyrant who smote them.
Triumph, perhaps, but not comfort was his in his savage dominion.
Famine and Fever, grim anarchists, shadowed his coming and going;
The wolf, self-appointed Lord Chamberlain, stared through the cracks of the cabin;
But still, with statesmanship dauntless, prophetic, the Pioneer wrought for the future.

When Hunger and Cold through the forest old
With the wild beasts went wandering by,

When Loneliness hung like the dying Christ
Between pitiless earth and sky,
The Pioneer toiled that his children might reap
In the years of the by and by.
When stern Death left empty the log-hewn crib
Far from service of human skill,
And the sunlight cast only the shade of a cross
Athwart the rude cabin's doorsill,
The Pioneer toiled that his God might give
The harvest to whom He should will.
We garner that harvest by right of our birth,
But the world shares the fruit of his tears:
For minds that hew pathways to new realms of truth,
And hearts that faint not through long years,
And souls that dare follow the beckoning stars,
Are the heirs of the Pioneers.
Like pigeons, a-homing the years wing their way
To the silence from which they came,
And the Pioneer's story is written today
In the crimson-stained annals of fame.
The town that our fathers baptized with their blood,
Though twined with this century's birth,
Is destined to live till Time's day-star shall give
Eternity's dawn to the earth.
The blood of its chrism flows warm through our hearts
As we meet, its sweet hearth-songs to sing,
While the Future leads swift, like the stars in the East,
To the presence of Christ, our King.

The century's labors are done, and we gather from far and from near,
As a family, scattered by day, gathers home in the gray of the twilight.
The day was too long for our fathers; they are sleeping in quiet green places
While we who still wake speak together of what has been done since the morning.

No longer the wilderness hedges our dooryard with barriers enchanted;
No longer the fertile fields lie with tresses sleep-tangled through ages.
The meadows of Hudson breathe "Peace," her streams murmur "Living is giving";
Her trees, swept by wind-fingers, play the rich chords of heroic endeavor;
The bells of her churches chime "Worship," and the bells of her schools echo "Wisdom";
Her children play, free from all fear, angel-brooded in flower-strewn pathways.
O blind eyes that see naught but substance, behold the fair spirit of Hudson—
A city not fashioned by hands; jasper-piled of the souls of its builders!
Its streets, by a century's sunshine made golden, lead *outward* forever,
While a choir that our eyes cannot see chants the mystic song of the city:—

We sing you no song of the waves in mid-sea,
Crowded close by their kin evermore,
But a song of the breakers that part from their mates
To dash out their lives on the shore.

We sing you no song of the waves in mid-sea,
Rising up, sinking down evermore,
But a song of the breakers that climb up the sands
And carve the bleak rocks on the shore;
The brave artist breakers that carve with themselves,
And vanish in foam on the shore.

On Culture's mid-ocean, with purposeless motion
The waves of life rise but to sink,
But with impulse resistless of conquest and progress
Break the waves on Humanity's brink.
They fling themselves forward with courage sublime,
They crumble grim Savagery's crest,
And they carve the high bluffs of a new world's bold shore,

As their toil-worn forms sink to rest
In the West,
The receding, elusive West.

The closing prayer and benediction in the morning program was pronounced by the Rev. Newton Barrett, of Iowa City, Iowa, who was pastor of the Hudson church fifty years ago.

At the dinner, which was held in the afternoon in the tent upon the grounds of the Park, Hon. W. I. Chamberlain acted as toastmaster. The toasts and responses were as follows:

"David Hudson," response by Julius Whiting, Esq., of Canton, Ohio, whose wife was one of the granddaughters of David Hudson.

MR. WHITING: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I took my first meal in Hudson at the table of Harvey Baldwin, son-in-law of David Hudson, and spent my first night beneath his roof. Perhaps on or about that time the associations were formed which I up to this time have been unable to break; at any rate I have become reconciled, and have absorbed pretty much all the prejudices of the Hudson family and a good deal of pride in the family; and I am very glad to be here today to unite with you in this centennial celebration. It is a celebration of which Hudson may well be proud. Rarely is a town of this size having such opportunities of developing the culture as this little town has done. What little it has done it has done well.

It is almost ten years since the people of Hudson gathered and made a gala day in celebration of the 90th anniversary of the birth of the first white child born in Summit county. She had seen the inception of the village, had lived in it and been a part of it from her birth until that day. It is a curious coincidence that when she died, two years later, and the friends who had gathered to lay her with her fathers had dispersed,—upon that very night the village was devastated by a conflagration which eradicated almost every land mark and utterly destroyed the business portion of the town. With the death of Anner Hudson Baldwin departed the last of the children of the founder of the town, and with one exception the family is now represented in the community only collaterally.

As we meet today to commemorate the completion of the full round of a century since the settlement, it is fitting that we give some thought to David Hudson, the leader of the pioneers; the founder of the community. We may well inquire what manner of man he was and what motives led him, a man approaching middle life, married, settled upon a farm in Connecticut, to sever all bonds of custom and seek a new home in what was then a trackless wilderness.'

Men forsake their homes and seek new lands from many causes: From hope of gain as Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas were settled; from desire for political or religious freedom, which was the central motive of the movement that founded the New England Colonies and Pennsylvania; from love of adventure; from persecution, or from fear, as a noted writer has suggested within a few days, attributing the early settlement of Western Pennsylvania to the movement of those who desired to escape the Revolutionary draft.

If we may expect the highest development to produce the best types, we may look to New England to find a better class of immigrants and a more rapid advancement than in any other colony. While the southern colonies attracted men of all classes, from the threadbare courtier to the convict, Connecticut owed its early settlement to religious enthusiasts, men of austere lives but of great courage and of the best type of the English middle class. They were skilled in the arts of peace, but did not shrink from the fiery ordeal of war. In their search for religious freedom they brought with them a fortitude to meet all hardships and a firmness of purpose which they transmitted to their children's children.

Descended on the paternal side from a line which had produced a great navigator, David Hudson was born in Branford, Connecticut, in 1770, at a time when already the smoldering discontent of the colonists was giving forth warning smoke indicating the fires about to burst forth. In that colony he lived through the period of the Revolutionary War, married and had a family of seven children, before he engaged in 1799, with Birdsey and Nathaniel Norton, Stephen Baldwin, Benjamin Oviatt and Theodore Parmelee in the undertaking which

brought him to the West. The causes which led to the emigration of David Hudson and many others, from the more settled lands of Connecticut to the wilderness of Western Reserve were largely commercial. Some four years before, Moses Cleveland and his party had made the survey of the territory and the inducements to settlers in the prospects of financial advancement were attractive. Hudson himself after living to middle life as a free thinker, had experienced a sense of religious responsibility which was probably the immediate cause of his leading in person the enterprise in which he had embarked. His partners were men of gravity of thought and stern religious sentiment. He and they were interested alike in the development of their material interests and the propagation of religious teachings. With Hudson, conviction meant action; knowledge, responsibility. He had all his life been surrounded by and subjected to influences which to his awakened consciousness became paramount. Henceforth his bent became more and more religious. He was always the man of affairs; always the leader, as he was the proprietor; always filled with the sense of his responsibility for the welfare of his people. He felt also, he said, "the responsibility resting upon first settlers and their obligations to commence in that fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom and to establish those moral and religious habits on which the temporal and eternal happiness of a people essentially depends." He was thoroughly consistent; his actions keeping step with his utterance. From the first it was he who conducted the religious exercises; he who early secured the services of an ordained minister; he who offered his own house as a gathering place for worshipers. It was by his influence and assistance that the first church was erected. He was interested in education, heading the petition to the Legislature which secured the charter for the Acedemy at Burton, in 1805; a little later it was his activity and liberality which secured to the town he had founded the location of Western Reserve College. He gave freely to this and other institutions of learning all his life long. It is believed that his interest in this matter was excited primarily by his desire to see the pulpits of the new land filled by an earnest and educated Christian ministry.

He was patriotic, inculcating love of country from the first little gathering of 43 souls, on July 4, 1800, where he delivered the address. In every undertaking he showed wisdom in counsel, strength of will, and firmness of purpose; whether in the forty days of struggle on land and water seeking his possessions, or in averting an Indian uprising after the killing of Nickshaw by Williams and Darrow, or through the troublesome period of the war of 1812. He lived to see the wilderness subdued, the country settled and prosperous, and died full of years and honors, in 1836, leaving, as one writer has said, "A memory revered and an example of usefulness well worthy of imitation."

Who can estimate the influence of such a life? To this day Ohio has been honored by her sons from the Reserve, as the Nation has delighted to honor them. For generations the pluck and enterprise of the state had its origin with the men born here from New England stock. They have been, and are still, the leaders in the halls of Congress, on the Bench, at the Bar, in the Pulpits, not only of this state, but of every state in the Union. It was the men like David Hudson who laid the foundations upon which these later generations have builded. It may well be doubted if any man of his time did more than he to advance the cause of education and morality.

Time forbids that I should recount the oft told tale of his journeys through the wilds to the site of the village, or repeat again the story of the early struggles of the infant community. They are well known to you. But they will be forgotten and lost to tradition before the forces and influences emanating from David Hudson cease to be active for good. His life shall ever be an example and his memory revered wherever honor and high purpose are esteemed of men.

"John Brown" response by Judge Marvin of Akron.

Judge Marvin:—It so happens that this centennial year of the settlement of Hudson is the centennial year of John Brown's birth. On the 9th of May, 1800, he was born at Torrington, Conn. While yet a boy five or six years of age he came here with his father's family. The boy was here for at least ten or twelve years before moving away from the town of Hudson,

and, later, he resided here himself with his own family. As was said by Dr. Bushnell in his address this morning, no man who ever lived in Hudson is so widely known to the world as he. Indeed, no man who ever lived in Summit County, I think it is safe to say, no man who ever lived in Ohio, became so widely known at home and abroad as John Brown. The amount of literature which has been written about him is surprising. Many biographies of him are to be found in public libraries. His life has been the subject of the pen of that great French writer, Victor Hugo. He has written his biography.

That John Brown, in his youth, was indoctrinated with the truth of the Scriptural saying that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, is manifest from the fact that his father, not many years after the arrival of the family in Hudson, became one of the trustees of Oberlin College, a college that has sent out as many men and women with fixed convictions on subjects of right and wrong as any institution of learning that has ever been known among men, and especially with the conviction that human slavery is the sum of all villainies. Early in life, while yet a boy, Mr. Brown became a member of the Congregational Church in Hudson, and afterwards a member of the Congregational Church at Franklin Mills, but in later life he was not a church member though he persistently called himself, and without doubt was a Christian man. It seems certain, however, that his ideas of the duties of men were formed more largely by his reading the Old Testament Scriptures than by his reading of the New Testament, for he believed in the vigorous way of bringing men to understand the truth and to be governed by it. He believed and acted upon the idea that the enemies of right and truth and justice should be smitten "hip and thigh." In his autobiography he relates, that while a boy of 15 or 16, he was alone on the road in Virginia with a drove of cattle, and while being entertained at a country tavern, he saw a slave boy, who, he says, was fully as bright as himself, scourged, maltreated and abused, while he himself was made much of by the landlord and those about him, because of the fact that so much responsibility was placed upon him while he was yet so young; and that imbued him with the

feeling that of all the foulness and of all the wickedness that ever existed under heaven and among men, the greatest was human slavery.

He undertook to do business as a business man, but without success. In 1837 he called his family together and engaged in family worship; then he required of all the boys that they religiously pledge themselves to use their utmost efforts for the extinction of human slavery, for the enfranchisement of the enslaved; and he followed that with further prayer. His real, active war upon slavery, perhaps, began with his career in Kansas. Before that he had aided in the escape of slaves; the truth is that in this town of Hudson there were a great many depots of the underground railroad in those days, and one of them was at his father's house. His sons went to Kansas in good faith to become settlers of that territory; it was at the time, as you all know, when that struggle brought about by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was on, as to whether the state of Kansas should be a free state. His children went there in the hope of making that their permanent home. Their father followed them upon their earnest request, leaving, however, his family in the state of New York. While in Kansas his life is a matter of history, and there are doubtless men now, and intelligent, well-thinking men, who disagree as to whether all that John Brown did in Kansas is to be approved. There was that execution of the five men at Pottawattamie. They had been the enemies of the Free State men, had been the terror of the good men, they had been engaged in murderous raids to put down the Free State men and to prevent them from having their rights. The execution was very summary, without any judicial process. It alienated John Brown for the time being from many of the Free State men of Kansas, but that it resulted ultimately in good, no man can doubt who has read the early history of the settlement of Kansas. John Brown it is said, believed he was called of God to make war upon slavery as Gideon was called from his father's wine press to make war upon the Midianites, and he thought his life was to be as secure as that of Gideon, and in one regard he did imitate him in no small degree. Gideon, it is said was the father of three score and ten children, "For he had many wives," is the language of the Book

of Judges. John Brown was the father of one score of children. He had two wives, but not both at once, while Gideon had several at one time.

John Brown remembered that Gideon when he started with an army of more than thirty thousand men, thinned them out by a process divinely appointed, first to ten thousand, and then by another process to three hundred, and with that three hundred he was able to overcome the mighty army of the Midianites, and John Brown had some reason for thinking himself like Gideon by reason of one of his achievements in Kansas. His army was reduced to nine men and met the enemy of twenty-one men under a leader by the name of Pate, and took the entire twenty-one his prisoners with these nine men. He might well think he was called of God to do this great thing. But the thing, which above all others made John Brown famous, and by reason of which, though for forty years his body has been "mouldering in the ground," "his soul is still marching on," is that expedition in Virginia in 1859. Dr. Bushnell said this morning that it was ludicrous that the pepole of Virginia should be alarmed; that a man, with only 22 or 23 followers should have so alarmed Virginia, but this reminded me of the fact that I first heard of that raid in this village, and I heard of it from a then prominent citizen here, and he was as badly scared as any Virginian, and believed that within ten days there would be a mighty army of fugitive slaves marching through here seeking their way to the lake and so to get on to Canada, and he expected bloodshed and murder to be spread all over this Western Reserve by those fugitives. That was in this village. No wonder then that when Brown and his followers were actually within the borders of their state the people of Virginia should have been alarmed. I have already spoken of the twenty-one Virginians whom he overcame with his nine men in Kansas; and doubtless the Virginians at home knew something of that.

Whether John Brown was at all wise in his expedition to Virginia may well be doubted, and yet, the children of this world have always been wiser than the children of light. Men who start out to do something for humanity have got to take some chances; and John Brown imbued, without any question,

with the feeling that it was his God-imposed duty to raise up an army among the slaves, who should overcome their masters, made his raid into Virginia. It is wonderful that any man should have attempted this, and still more wonderful that he should have accomplished anything by it. John Brown did accomplish a great moral purpose; he stirred up the people of the United States to a realization of the evils of slavery, in a greater degree, perhaps than any other one person, except Mrs. Stowe in her wonderful story of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

What John Brown did in 1859 had much to do with bringing about the kind of sentiment which ended in the absolute extinction of human slavery on this continent. John Brown became a martyr. No man who reads his autobiography but will believe that he was a man of decided ambition. He was anxious to become a famous man, and he succeded in that, as has already been said. He became the most famous, perhaps, of the citizens of Ohio. As the result of that he lost his life as a criminal. He was hanged in December, 1859, and on his way to the gallows,—and this I have not seen in any biography, but remember reading it in the papers at the time,—he lifted up a little black child he saw, and kissed it. When those who came to the prison to escort him to the gallows, said "Mr. Brown, are you ready?" He said, "I have always been ready to die." He was willing to die for his convictions, and did die for his convicions, as the criminal dies. But when that drop fell; when his life ended here, "he passed through glory's opening gate and walked in paradise."

"Hudson's Out-reach or Influence; (a) Upon our Country's Agriculture;" response by John Gould of Aurora.

Mr. Gould:—To lead the vanguard of the western onflow and spread of civilization to blaze a trail into the heart of a great unknown wilderness that would be beaten into a great highway for a coming nation; to mark the outposts for a coming tide of people of occupancy; to strike the first blow that assails the great fortress of nature; to be the center of thought and inspiration that colonizes a wilderness; that grapples with the unconquered forces of earth and air; to see fair fields appear, homes builded, churches erected, schools established, the economic arts

put in operation, and agriculture given an unbounded outreach, is given to but few men. David Hudson, grand old pioneer, was one of them, and is for us to-day our patron saint, our peerless hero. To him and his not less worthy compatriots we meet, to-day this centennial of history, to offer especial honor and tribute of thanks.

More than this, because of their coming ensued a train of events, an expansion took place, an empire was builded that has passed into history as the great miracle of the nineteenth century; an agricultural out-reach, an inspiration, a something that dominates men, carries them forward with irresistible impulse, and is continually demanding new domains, making better the conditions of life. Because of it all, came the results which make us thank God that He gave it to us, to be citizens of this Grand Commonwealth, this State of Ohio.

The swarming of the human hives of New England in 1800 to 1820, was but one form of an agricultural outreach. Rocky, almost sterile mountain farms must be recruited in some way, and that way was to seek new lands in the west. And so it was this outreach of David Hudson that led him to this fair township to found his home, and draw about him a class of men and women whose rugged honesty, sterling worth, and fixed tenacity of purpose we have as yet not fully comprehended, even when viewing them from their century-away distance.

It seems to have been the good fortune of Hudson township to have had an agricultural out-reach from the first decade of its history. Like all new townships, with a rapidly increasing immigration, and at a time when Greenbacks could not be picked from trees, nor gold dug from the sands of Tinker's creek, the community came to be, of necessity, self-sustaining. With lands naturally grass-producing, the raising of flocks and herds became at once prominent, and we can say that from the very first even until now, the cow has been the chief source of Hudson's income. As has been said, the farm at first supplied nearly all needs. Food and clothing were home-produced, and all wants from ox yokes to sleds, from soap to straw hats, were of farm origin, and each was the exemplification of the skill of their creators. As the days went on there must be a surplus somewhere with which to

purchase the few things the farm could not produce, and before 1810 David Hudson precoursed the agricultural out-reach of the town by taking butter and cheese to Pittsburg to exchange for articles of need. From that day on this out-reach of Hudson and other Western Reserve towns has fed large portions of the world with dairy produce. Later, it was a Hudson man of brain and money, who devised the plan of syndicate cheese factories. Seymour Straight showed it was possible to centralize, systematize, and make uniform the plans and workings of associated dairy interests, a system now in almost universal practice—large individual or co-operative control of dairy manufacture.

Indirectly Hudson has had a large out-reach in this. Her educational advantages, colleges, academies, culture and intellectual uplift have had not a little to do in molding farm life, and its outflow of influence permeated other sections and localities, even to distant states. The old plan of home supply has gone. The Standard Oil Co. has taken charge of dipping candles, the village artisan has gone, and you now buy everything ready made, even to your ground coffee with its unknown "blends." Fall River and Lowell have forever made motionless the hand loom of the farm home; and to-day on the farm, the bright boy of 16, with horses and modern machinery, supersedes the dozen men of 1845, and these men have gone out into an out-reach beyond Hudson, and with them was carried an influence for good, thrift, and intelligence which would astonish one, could the uplift of their life work be measured and here realized.

The world is full of the praises of what is known as the Chautauqua idea, and a grand educational feature it has been and now is, because it has brought the best of the world's literature and science to the door of the world's common people in city and country, helping all who will, giving them the aid to keep abreast of the thought and action of the time. But, quite as early, in the brain of a Hudson man was originated, and by his tact and perseverance was put in motion, what was proven to be the *expansion idea* in farmers' institutes, to wit, centralized inspiration, control of funds, selection and assignment of speakers, the county plan of two to four two-days' meetings in each county, with a carefully arranged plan of circuits, supplying

speakers from a distance; giving institute dates, and, in other words, presenting to the gathered farmers' families a prepared feast, not, however, to the exclusion of the local man with ideas. Out of this has grown an agricultural out-reach that no state has ever improved upon, and last year Ohio held 274 regular two-day institutes, and 30 independent ones, all the outgrowth of the Hudson out-reach, evolved, perfected and put into form and practice by your honored townsman, your chairman and toastmaster of the day. I here do not wish to detract from the action and work in institute development elsewhere. Institutes in name were carried on in other states as early as in Ohio, but they were without organized and personally directed effort, and so remained until 1885, whereas in 1880 Ohio, under the secretaryship of Wm. I. Chamberlain, the plan and purpose of the institute was brought out of chaos and the first series of county institutes was conducted under the personal management and control of one man as a general superintendent, a centralized inspiration, direction and control.

In 1885 Wisconsin, under the brilliant organizing powers of W. H. Morrison, launched his fully equipped series of institutes, but his plans were largely drawn from information supplied from Ohio, closely modeled after the Hudson idea. Then he sought in Ohio his assistant superintendent, who was there maintained for three seasons. He also imported T. B. Terry and W. I. Chamberlain to make circuits of institutes. Other states caught what I can justly term the Hudson plan of institute out-reach, and in substance, the thirty or more states which now have complete institute organization and state support, are in the main copies of Hudson's out-reach, and when agricultural history makes faithful record of this institute development, a Hudson man's name shall lead all the rest.

Time forbids to trace the growth of the idea from $1,000, expended in 1880 on 27 institutes up to some $15,000 expended on 300 institutes in 1900. The agricultural literature in institutes and through the press has lifted up and inspired thousands, and here I may at least mention the fact that some of it crossed the town lines and there kindled a lesser flame, and lifted one up to attempt better things for himself, and to cheer on others

to help make the farm life noble, honorable and respected of all men.

There is yet another matter in connection with this education which Hudson has developed in these latter years, that the agricultural world has taken cognizance of, and credited Hudson with, whether fully comprehended here or not. A Hudson resident, a college-educated man, stands today at the head of the agricultural writers and lecturers of America, and that unquestioned—your townsman, T. B. Terry, Esq.; and the beneficent out-reach of his example, his voice and pen, his helpful thought and advice, his original methods, his analysis of mode and practice, have come to thousands of homes and farms to encourage and bless, an agricultural influence such as has come, probably, from the life of no other man. Another Hudson man, already mentioned in another connection, with an agricultural influence perhaps not fully realized here, is editor of the greatest of all the great farm papers (the Ohio Farmer) which with its edition reaching a half million readers each week, has to do with the moulding of agricultural thought and action in large degree; and, weighing my words and with due credit to all, even if under the shadow of old Western Reserve College, I venture the remark that because of the agricultural out-reach of these two men, the town of Hudson is known to a greater number on this continent than of any other two men the town has ever produced.

Hudson has always had a noted place in the agricultural prosperity of the century, and for the general high intelligence of its farmers, but its out-reach is not so much of its butter, cheese, cows, stock and grains, as it has been its educational influence and uplift. The one can be measured by dollars and bushels; the other, an intellectual, broadening, expanding, ever helpful, ever uplifting force, can only be measured as God measures by His rules and standards, and rewards His faithful stewards.

What of Hudson's out-reach for the century to come? There are no more forests to subdue, and the men who subdued them are dust, and today is a faint attempt to render them the honor due. The day of the independent community has passed, and the country is now blended in a homogeneous fabric. We

have arrived at an artificial age, when luxuries are supplanting simple wants, and the demand for the "ready made" is blotting out the individuality that was so distinguishing a trait in the character of the pioneer. Still I believe that the influence of the farm is to reassert itself, and when the education and the culture of the farm is co-equal with that of other professions, the farm will again be the best place upon which to be born, to be brought up, educated and married. On it men can live, as did our forefathers, nearer to God than it is possible for men in any other profession to live, and start from to Heaven. When another 100 years shall have rolled around Hudson will be found having another agricultural out-reach as valuable to the world as that of this century. God's plans allow no backward steps. The first man was a farmer, and to him was given absolute dominion, and it was God's plan that he who produced for, fed and clothed the world should be supreme in its control. If he is not so today, it is because he has allowed the artificial, added conditions of civilization to outweigh him in the mental balance. There is a mighty force arising in the agricultural world, in its agricultural schools, colleges, experiment stations, and working departments of agriculture, that brings promise that the farmer shall in mental equipment again control as God intended that he should, and in that coming day not the least of these forces of educational uplift that bring triumph will be Hudson's agricultural out-reach.

"Hudson's Out-reach or Influence; (b) Upon Our Country's Literary Life;" response by Prof. Clay Herrick.

PROFESSOR HERRICK: Ladies and Gentlemen:—A little girl, who didn't live in Hudson, was asked to write an essay upon the subject of Physiology; and this is what she wrote: "The human body consists of three parts, the head, the chist and the stummick. The head contains the eyes and the brains, if any; the chist contains the lungs and a piece of liver; and the stummick contains the bowels, which are five; a, e, i, o, u, and sometimes w and y."

I don't know that this story has any application to what has been said or to what will be said; but it bears upon its face the

mark of truth; and truth, you know, *will out.* There was a church in New York City, one of those fashionable churches to which Christianity is an utter stranger—which happened to have its pulpit occupied one Sunday evening by one of these impassioned old preachers of the old school. And there was present in the balcony of the church an old colored woman; and she, true to her training, as the preacher began to bring forth his stirring periods, became excited, and began to "get the power," as they call it down South; and she made a good deal of noise. One of the ushers stepped up to her and said, "Madame, this won't do; you musn't make so much noise; you are disturbing the meeting." "I can't help it, sah, I can't help it; I'se got 'ligion, sah!" "But, madam," replied the usher, "*This* is no place to *get religion!*"

Now, not the most perfunctory usher in the world could ever have said of the town of Hudson, that it was "no place to get" an education. It is recorded of David Hudson and his sturdy followers, that within the first twelve months after they had begun to make way for civilization in this part of the great West, they opened a school; within the next year they built a house as a permanent home for that school; and during the same year David Hudson trudged on foot and on horseback, wading across streams and rivers, embarking on the lake in a frail boat, and went clear to Connecticut to spend the price of more than three hundred acres of land in the purchase of books, which he brought back to his community to start a circulating library. Now, Mr. Toastmaster, it would have taken no prophet in those days to tell that a community which showed such a spirit as that was destined to have a wide influence along literary and educational lines. But it would have taken more than human foresight to say how great and how broad was to be the influence of this little town. It didn't stop with the Western Reserve, nor with the state of Ohio; it was not confined within the boundaries of the nation; but it leaped over ocean and sea, and made itself felt in the ancient nations of Europe. For three-fourths of a century a center of education, it had at one time the college the most famous and illustrious of any west of the Alleghenies mountains; and for forty years it maintained, in addition to this, several institutions for the higher education of women,

and so was a pioneer in that line. All these institutions sent out into the world hundreds of well trained men and women; and, among others, Hudson's old college trained three United States senators, governors for four states, ten members of the United States congress, twenty-nine members of state legislatures, and thirty-eight judges, among them being three judges of state courts, three Chief-Justices of state Supreme Courts, and one Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

This little town has nourished more than twenty-five authors, who have published in the world upward of one hundred and thirty valuable books. It has been the seat of at least two publications of national reputation. Besides an army of workers it has sent into literary fields it has in education provided professors for Yale and Princeton and Columbia and Andover and other eastern institutions, and given presidents to Union, Williams and Dartmouth and several other colleges. It has sent its workers across the great deep to bear the torch of civilization to the people of India, China and Japan. And yes, Mr. Toastmaster, in the memory of this generation, it has even given to a neighboring city, in its great generosity, a ready made college, with its endowment, its equipment, its faculty and its reputation all thrown in.

So much for the past; but this is not only the end of the old century; it is also the beginning of the new century. We stand today and look backward into the nineteenth century to learn its lessons, to admire its heroes and heroines, and to catch its magnificent inspiration. Then we turn and look forward into the twentieth century, to learn and do its duties, to face and solve its problems, to grasp and use its opportunities. The great discovery of the nineteenth century is, that the Golden Age is in the Future—not in the Past. My friends, that was almost an inspired utterance, that of the old colored preacher down in Virginia, "Bred'ren, de world *do move!*" Thank God, it does move! And how could it help but move, when there have lived such men and women as have made old Hudson famous? Generation after generation adds its contribution, and age by age we move on toward the goal.

And shall we, my friends, not do our part? Wendell Phillips said that "To be as good as our forefathers, we must be better than they were:"—that is, we must take the good that they have given us, and add to it. Shall we not do that? We take as our ideal not what our forefathers *were* in *1800*, but what those same forefathers *would be* in *1900*, if they were here. We admire and applaud Daivid Hudson of 1800. But what of the David Hudson of 1900? If he were here today with that heroic and persevering spirit of his he would be the pioneer still, and he would work harder today than he did one hundred years ago, to make this town justly famous. And shall we not follow him in that?

Hudson has lost its college; but it still has its academy, and, thank God, that that academy, founded on a sure basis, may live and thrive with an equipment that will enable it to compete with the best in the land, if we but do our part. It must become as famous in its time as the old college was in its best days, and so live to stand side by side with the best of the New England academies.

"Hudson's Out-reach or Influence (c) Upon the World's Morals and Religion," response by Rev. J. G. Fraser, D. D.

Dr. Fraser: I am very grateful indeed for this generous applause at the beginning—for it is all I expect to have! I am reminded of a story I read not long ago, of a man in a certain town, not Hudson, of course, who took upon himself to be exceedingly kind to traveling men who visited the town, to take them about and show them the sights of the town, but when it came to the matter of spending any money at all he was conspicuously, notably and unanimously absent. He never did anything of that kind! So by and by to all the men on the road he came to be known as "Old Generosity." A traveling man who hadn't been in the town for some time came to town one day, and after meeting a few friends and talking to them, he said "By the way, where is 'Old Generosity?'" "Why," his friends said, "hadn't you heard? He is dead." "No, I didn't know that." "Yes, he is. Would you like to go to the cemetery and see his monument?" "Yes, I'll go." So they took him to

the cemetery to show him the grave on the center of which stood a very plain, heavy, substantial monument bearing the inscription "This is on me." It was the first thing that ever was "on him!"

The theme assigned to me on the program is not exactly the theme I have written down "black on white." That reads "The Evangelical Out-reach of Hudson." Now that seems to be a large enough subject for a stranger to speak upon for ten minutes—but I want to enlarge it. I have in mind a gentleman who was called upon unexpectedly to make an address, and they told him he might speak upon any subject he pleased. So he arose and modestly said that he would speak on "The Universe and its Surroundings, with Some Remarks on Universes in General." But I won't take so big a subject as that. I want to make four suggestions, however, on Hudson. I should like to mention the Evangelical Fore-reach of Hudson; the Evangelical In-reach; Evangelical Out-reach of Hudson.

It seems to me something wonderful in the providence of God, in the days before Hudson had come to be such, that such men as David Bacon and Joseph Badger, the apostle of the Western Reserve, who had to do with every good thing in the history of the Reserve during the opening years of this century—providentially all had their attention focused on Hudson. That seems to me to have been the fore-reach, the Evangelical fore-reach in the providence of God leading towards Hudson. Then, there must have been a wonderful Evangelical in-reach from these earnest souls, such as President Hitchcock, to whom Dr. Bushnell paid such a beautiful tribute this morning. There must have been a warm, tender, Evangelical in-reach here, and the prayer "O, that we may have the up-reach; the thoughts turned toward God, the souls staying themselves on him and his presence in this little community 'way out here in the wilderness.'" All that led, and led naturally and necessarily, to the out-reach.

I have been studying a wonderfully interesting and fascinating volume the last few days, the general catalogue of the Western Reserve University, and I have been surprised at the names I have found there. Such names as that of Dr. James Shaw, who was of the class of '34; of the Scudders, who graduated in

'50 and went as missionaries to India; Dr. Munger was a student that same year in the college. Such names as the Indian Missionaries, Dr. John P. Jones and the venerable Dr. J. Chamberlain, who spoke for the missionary world at the opening session, and whose name was mentioned with honor at almost every session of the Ecumenical Missionary Council, and who is authority, seemingly, on India and everything that pertains to it. Such names as George T. Ladd, who began his ministry in Ohio, and, after a faithful service, going to that great place he has occupied with such distinction and ability, in the faculty of the Yale University. And John Hehry House; and Josiah Strong, who is with us today. I believe it was Daniel Webster who could always speak for himself, and I suppose Dr. Strong can speak for himself here in Hudson: and so on with a long list. I have gathered but a few names from it. How marvelous has been the evangelical out-reach clear to the ends of the earth from this quiet little country town. Its line has gone through all the earth.

"The Pioneer Man," response by Rev. James H. McKee, of Aurora.

Mr. McKee: I have been wondering while sitting here why I should be called upon to respond to this sentiment, for I am not a son of Ohio, but a son of the Empire State recently transplanted to the Buckeye State,

And yet in the three years' residence your soil has been so congenial that I seem to have taken root in it and so grown down into it that I have found myself greatly interested in the old pioneers and their work. In your immediate surroundings lived some of the men who helped to build and make Aurora what it is today, and in studying their history and their work I have found myself interested also in the history and work of those who at the same time in adjoining towns were laying foundations for the moral, social and economic conditions which you recall today with so much pleasure and pride.

The Pioneer Men are those who, while making the most of their surroundings, are on the lookout for and ready to venture in search of large opportunities lying somewhere in the unknown.

The unknown has always had and will always have for thinking minds a peculiar fascination. It was this which led Henry Hudson in the "Half Moon" to look out toward the new world three centuries ago, and, turning the prow of his vessel westward, discover the beautiful Hudson River in New York State and perpetuate the discovery with his name. A century later there was another Hudson, a pioneer, somewhere in New England, carving out for himself and his children a home in the new world. Another one hundred years passes and it shows us a pioneer coasting along the shores of the great lakes, up the Cuyahoga River to plant here what has grown into your beautiful village, and which perpetuates the good name and deeds of him whose memory you cherish and revere today, David Hudson. And doubtless in some place now unknown, in entirely new surroundings, record will be made 100 years hence of the pioneer work of David Hudson's descendants who are now looking out for something lying just beyond, that they may enter into and develop. This was the thing which characterized the Pioneer Men.

We hear often a great deal about social conditions and surroundings, and men are often excusing their short-comings because of their environment. Think one moment. What did these old pioneers do with their environment? Could you think of more untoward circumstances than those in which they often found themselves? And yet in that environment they planted schools and colleges, built churches, opened up and developed magnificent farms and on them reared sturdy, cultured, helpful sons and daughters.

If this day we shall learn the lesson that in a large sense we are all pioneers, or should be, developing methods by which to do something for the betterment of humanity and thus perpetuate the work of the fathers whose names and fame you recall today, our gathering here will not have been in vain. One hundred years ago this day Colonel Ebenezer Sheldon, a pioneer settler of Aurora, with his family, were making their way through the then wilderness roads of Pennsylvania with their faces toward the new home on the Western Reserve, and on the nineteenth of this month we will gather in our Town Hall to commemorate with suitable service the centenary of the coming of

that family to Aurora. The development of Aurora runs parallel to that of Hudson, and in the growth of each town there has not been wanting a spirit of mutual helpfulness.

A little time ago my attention was called to a subscription list still extant, secured by the Rev. John Seward for the building and endowing of the Western Reserve College. And what kind of a list do you think it was? It was one in which the amount set opposite each name was represented in farms, in acres of land, in cattle, in horses, in bushels of grain, not in dollars and cents.

For real benevolence, heartiness of giving, it would be hard in these days to match that old subscription list. These pioneer men were ready to make sacrifices, to give farms, the best of their stock, grain from their newly cleared land, in order that their children might enjoy the advantages of an educational institution of a high order, and as a result that beacon light for this and surrounding communities, Western Reserve College, was erected.

There results this thought. We are pioneers and one hundred years from now men will be looking over the records to see what we have done in our environment, and if there should be any, with these magnificent examples coming down to us from the century past, disposed to excuse themselves in their shortcomings because of environment let them con again the history of the pioneer men. If the fathers in their century were able to carve out such a magnificent inheritance and transmit it to us, we in our century should prove ourselves worthy of the trust and transmit an untarnished and improved inheritance to those who will review our record at the next centennial.

"The Pioneer Women," response by Miss Mary A. O. Clark of Collamer.

Miss Clark:—I call to your loving remembrance the mothers and maidens who journeyed thither through the wilderness, on horse back or in ox carts, who forded rivers, who camped under the open sky, and baked their bread by the camp fire.

Though sickness and danger were often their traveling companions, and at their journey's end a wilderness yet unsubdued received them with scant welcome and hard conditions,

yet, even so, strength came at need. Womenly heroism, resource and unsuspected ability honored the drafts made by love and necessity. Did a rattlesnake coil itself on her hearth or doorstep, or even creep for warmth into the trundle-bed, your pioneer mother nerved herself to a courage she had never before known, seized ax or fire tongs, and dispatched her enemy.

She used to tell you, when you were little children and she the gray-haired grandmother, of the dark and lonely forest through which she once rode for her own life and that of her baby in her arms. The wolves were howling in hot pursuit, and she urged her horse to a mad flight toward the heavenly glimmer of the tallow dip in the window of her log cabin home. Grandmother's stories of wolves and Indians were better than fairy tales, and till you grew up you would have said her early life was a big book of adventure. You came to know that there were also privation and sickness, cold and loneliness, which she bore with fortitude and patience, and for which she received compensating gifts from heaven in a character purified and strengthened.

Fashion exacted little of the settler's wife. Though she wore her own home-spun and made by hand every garment worn by the family, yet we may remember the home-spun raiment like the wilderness garb of the Israelites, and though machines were unknown, there were neither tucks nor ruffles nor furbelows.

Besides, executive ability was developed to wonderful proportions. I remember to have read of one woman, who, with her daughters, took a fleece of wool, cleansed, dyed, spun, wove and made of it a coat for a volunteer soldier, and did it all in twenty-four hours.

Pioneers came to the new country not to idle, but to work, and I do not know of a picture which would better illustrate the genius of frontier life, than that of one of your own pioneer women who rode on horseback all the way from New England with her little flax-wheel tied on her saddle behind her. Have some one paint for you the picture of that New England girl as she emerges from the forest, and, sitting erect on her horse, steps out into the clearing. A girl with a fearless, resolute face, and behind her, like Santa Barbara with her tower, or St. Cecelia

with her organ, paint the little distaff and wheel, mother of nineteenth century spindles, and let that picture be to you and your children a sign of the hardihood and industry which were brought to the Western Reserve in early times.

Also remember the mothers of your pioneer women who sometimes, in advanced age, came with their children, and passed the remainder of their days far from the comforts of their former homes. And never forget to mention in your annals the plucky mother who came from Connecticut to visit her daughter; came alone, riding a two-year-old colt, and who, after a year's visit "returned by the same conveyance."—A remarkable experience for the colt as well as his mistress. I am sorry history drops the veil on his after life. I am sure if he lived to "grow up" he must have been the Ulysses of the pasture, sage at least even though "sway-backed."

With baking, brewing, weaving, spinning and sewing, it would appear that the life of the settler's wife was reduced to wearisome utility, and yet, fruits of inspiration were open and at hand even in those early days.

Have you ever retreated from civilization for a little while and camped and played at gypsy in the forest, or have you ever at night stepped out from your own door, and while the world about you were sleeping, have you stood alone under the solemn, silent stars, and let the cool air take you in its arms and caress you? If you have done this with a heart open to hear, you have heard voices which are dumb at other hours, and you can imagine what came into the soul of many a woman in whose thoughts silence and loneliness ploughed deep and deeper channels.

I have read with interest the sketches of the pioneer women of Hudson. I am impressed by the fact that the Bible was an important factor in their lives. They may have been underlearned in literary or higher criticism, but the precepts of the Holy Word, its poetry and its mystic metaphors sank into their hearts and became the source of the mental and moral stamina of those early times.

To the Bible was coupled the New England primer, especially the catechism at the end of the book. For the first two decades of the century this was used in school, church and home,

and only after the second generation of settlers was the practice of catechising discontinued. Apropos of this, my mother—who taught a primary school here in Hudson in 1836—used to relate a story.

A good old deacon came to visit her school one day and on being asked to say a few words, he begged the privilege of asking the children questions from the catechism. It was not taught at that date in her school, and the teacher sat, smiling, back in her chair, and let the deacon work out the examination for himself. He proceeded down the row of children drawn up, toes to a crack, and began: "How many persons are there in the Godhead?" The children looked in consternation at the teacher. They had not the faintest idea of the answer, and down the line of mortified youngsters the good man pursued his question.

At the very foot of the class stood a wee mite of a girl, her eyes like stars, and a look of confident expectation on her face. At last, then, the humilating defeat was to be turned! The little miss nearly tilted herself out of balance, as she bent forward to look down the line and note the approach of her moment of triumph.

"Clarissy," began the catechist, "How many persons are there in the Godhead?"

"Twenty-six," came the answer clear and prompt as the little maid drew herself up to her tallest, and shot a look of triumph down the discomfited row. The number of letters in the alphabet was in her mind, and as one of the most important facts she knew it must of necesssity be the answer to the most impressive question she had ever been asked.

There was a value set upon education by the pioneer mother which almost amounted to reverence. That one of her sons should be educated for the ministry was the darling wish of her pious heart. For this she was willing to work and economize beyond the limits of strength. Western Reserve College bears record that it holds in grateful remembrance the deeds of kindness, the encouragement and inspiration received from those noble women.

The pioneer's wife was always versed in the care of the sick and in the use of simples, while some earned even from the Indians the title of "Good Squaw. . Heap good doctor." In your own chronicles appears the honored name of one who was driven to her husband's medical library to slake her thirst for reading. It would have been dull pastime for many of us, but, without aiming at such an accomplishment, this woman became a skilled nurse and undiplomaed practitioner.

There was scope for services of nurse and doctor. Malignant fevers and consumption exacted a grim tribute from the early settlers. Fever and ague became second nature, and it is said the quinine bottle was passed after each meal.

My mother once asked after the health of a neighboring family. The small boy interrogated responded cheerily, "O, we're all well, thankee." "Why," exclaimed my mother, "I thought you were all sick with ague?" "O, yes," said the boy, "we've all got the agy, but somehow we've had the agy so much we don't call it bein' sick.'

One never knows when to stop burrowing among the records of a past age, which had so vital a connection with the present. The student of human history delights to consider the growth of character under strenuous conditions and trace formative influences not only through one generation, but descending ones, and to note the transference and modification of type from parent to child. But the unprofessional heir of history sees not the science and philosophy of life, but with a throb of gratitude exclaims, "These were my forebears, who wrought and suffered and endured for the sake of children and children's children, and this fair land."

Listen to a parable of the noble trees which shade your homes, of which you are so justly proud. Think you they owe their growth to the influences and environment of the present? No, earth, air and sky whisper to them traditions of the primeval wood, the mother forest, wind-swept, star-crowned. In solitude and shadow its mighty trunks were reared heavenward. The storms swayed them and shook them, but sent their roots firmer into the soil. Age and frost colored their tops blood red, or sunshine yellow, and November sighing through their "dim

and cloistered aisles" fluttered their leaves to earth. Winter's snow enveloped them. The wild things of the woods sought protection under their branches, and the Indian skulked behind them. Still spring failed them not, but even in the wilderness came with gentle step and smiling face and brought hope and joy and God's Easter each year. So they grew and drank the sunshine and the air, and stretched their arms to nesting birds. In the hollows of their trunks squirrels made their home and wild bees stored their honey. Cool mosses covered their roots and shrouded their trunks when, at last, their life having been lived, they fell and crumbled back to the fertile soil.

Not one of the grand or gentle forces which dominated their lives was lost. It went on into other forest life. Listen, and you shall know these academic groves hold their traditions as well as we. The winds chant their ancient battle pæons, and the birds are caroling their lyrics. They succeed to a grander, more symmetrical growth because they are standing on parent soil, enriched by the life of the mother forest of long ago.

"The Churches of Hudson and their Ministers," response by Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D., of New York.

Rev. Dr. Strong — Fellow-citizens, neighbors and friends: —Perhaps I should say brothers and sisters, for we are all the children of Moth Hudson to-day; own children or step-children or adopted children; and it is easy for us to speak praises of our mother, especially in a family gathering. Let us congratulate each other on the beauty of the day, as perfect, I think, as any that ever dawned during the century that we celebrate, and I am very sure no sun during all that century has arisen on Mother Hudson more beautiful than she is to-day, and we love to speak of her many virtues.

Some years ago I was speaking in a little village on the lake shore, a few miles west of Cleveland, and at the close of the address an Englishman came to me and said, "I, too, am a public speaker; I used to speak in London, and people have followed me from one 'all to another 'all and they said to me, 'Why don't you go to Hamerica, you would be happreciated in Hamerica,' and so I came to Hamerica and I 'ired a 'all, but nobody came to

'ear me, and I spoke in the hopen hair, but nobody came to 'ear me. Why, sir, I am a poet, and I am a philosopher, and I am a horator, a hauthor, and it is a houtrage and a shame that people won't come to 'ear such a man as I ham." It occurs to me to-day that our good Mother Hudson to-day is as versatile as our English friend; and, judging from the remarks I have already heard upon her many virtues, we are sure that, unlike him, she is appreciated.

I was told this morning that I was to speak a few words concerning the churches and ministers of Hudson. Surely a long text for a ten minutes' sermon. He who organized the first church in Hudson was that apostle of the Western Reserve, to whom reference has already been made, the Rev. Joseph Badger, who on the eighth day of September, 1802, organized the church whose house of worship once stood on the corner where the town-hall stands to-day. Joseph Badger, notwithstanding all the hardships of frontier life, lived to the green old age of 90 years. Following him came David Bacon. He had gone to Detroit but could not find there two Christians to organize into a church. There was only one. He found a church already organized in Hudson, and he became a general missionary in this region. Years ago, when, as Home Missionary Secretary of the State of Ohio, I used to travel in easy cars from one end of the state to the other, perhaps going to sleep in Cleveland and waking up in Cincinnati, I felt almost ashamed of myself that I could perform the duties of my office so easily when I remembered how David Bacon tramped back and forth twice to Connecticut and back, once through the snows of winter. And when he lived here for a few years, from 1804 on, there were in the little log school-house of Hudson two tow-haired boys — one of them Leonard Bacon, the illustrious son of David Bacon, and the other, John Brown. The next minister was Rev. John Seward, who was for 32 years pastor in the adjoining town of Aurora. During the early part of his pastorate there he used to supply the church in Hudson every other Sunday, hence we make mention of him in this illustrious list of ministers. He spent his latter days in Tallmadge, and I remember that on the oc-

casion of a celebration there, perhaps their semi-centennial, when much had been said concerning the Tallmadge church and concerning Congregationalism in general, he was called upon to make the concluding prayer. Perhaps some of you remember that he was not a Congregationalist, but a Presbyterian. In his prayer referred to he said: "We thank Thee, Lord, that it is our privilege to be Congregationalists or Presbyterians or anything else that we please," to which no doubt we all to-day say Amen. Following John Seward came the Rev. William Hanford, who served this church sixteen years — the longest pastorate in the history of the Congregational Church of Hudson. Mr. Hanford was identified with all the good works in the community. He was something more than a preacher. Our well known chairman to-day, who has done so much for the agriculture of this state, was not the first man in Hudson who fertilized his fields with his brains. William Hanford bought a little farm and built a house where our honored fellow-townswoman, Miss Metcalf, lives to-day. He tilled that farm himself and made it a model long before your own, Mr. Chairman, was ever called a model farm. His became the model of the farms round about and men came to see and to learn. Following Rev. William Hanford came Reverend Giles Doolittle, whose pastorate was not long, but fruitful. I recall very well his widow, and his daughters were still living here when my father moved to the town in 1852. Then followed Rev. Mason Grosvenor, about 1840. Then Reverend John C. Hart succeeded him, from 1843 to 1851. He was known as an exceptionally able sermonizer. He found the church divided over the slavery controversy. Some had withdrawn and were worshipping in what was known in my boyhood as Ellsworth's Hall. He left the church reunited. Following J. C. Hart came Rev. Newton Barrett, who served the church from 1851 to 1855, and we today have the privilege of meeting him here in his hale old age — in his eighty-eighth year. I want to pay tribute to his honored wife. I had good occasion to remember her with gratitude, for I recall that one day my brother and I had run away from home to play down at the brook, and Mr. Barrett's two sons, Edward and Frank, both of whom entered the ministry,

went with us. In our fun we all tumbled into the brook and got soaking wet and I was afraid to go home and show myself to my mother. So we betook ourselves to the parsonage and Mrs. Barrett, in the largeness of her heart, put us all to bed in order to dry our soaking clothes — and then kept our secret. The next minister was Rev. George Darling, who also is with us to-day, who was pastor for fifteen years — from '58 to '73; the longest pastorate in the history of the church with the single exception of that of William Hanford. If Mr. Darling needs a monument, it is standing in brick and mortar on yonder hill, and its spire is seen from all the countryside. Most of us remember the old church from which we migrated to the new one. May I be permitted a personal reference in connection with one sermon I can never forget, which was preached by him in that old church? The text that morning was, "Go forward and see the Salvation of God"— the word which was spoken to Moses when the children of Israel were hemmed in by mountains on either side, the Egyptians behind them and the Red Sea before them. There seemed for them no escape, and yet there came the word, "Go forward and see the salvation of God." They went forward, and as they obeyed, the waters before them opened. That was the line of thought and it profoundly impressed me. I was then a lad thirteen years old. There had been pressed on my conscience a certain duty, the acceptance of which seemed as difficult as crossing the Red Sea. That Sabbath afternoon I said to myself, "Though I cannot see how the acceptance of this duty will bring deliverance, I will go forward and do it," and by God's grace I saw His salvation. And I am glad to-day to greet you, my father in Christ, as your son Timothy.

Following George Darling came Edward Root, who had but a short pastorate, and whose son distinguished himself in Yale college, and has since written an able book. Then followed Rev. T. Y. Gardner, a Saint John in character, beloved by all who knew him. We should have been glad to meet him here to-day, but he has joined the "great cloud of witnesses." Then came Rev. A. B. Cristy, followed by Rev. Charles W. Carroll, whose face gladdens us to-day, and who is remembered

by so many of those present with gratitude and affection. Then Rev. Charles Small and then the present pastor of the church, whom you know very much better than I. Time fails me to speak of the other churches in the community, which have done their portion of the work in impressing Christian character upon the citizens of Hudson. But let me refer at least to two rectors of the Episcopal Church — Rev. Mr. Fairchild, a man of great worth, remembered by all of the older citizens in the community, and the Rev. Mr. Garrett, remembered by the younger generations. His heart was as big as his body, or I might rather say, his heart was as big as the township — five miles square. We remember him to-day with affection. I can also only mention the facts that Methodist preachers and exhorters riding on the circuit preached in Hudson while the century was yet in its teens. The church which was organized here as the result of their labors, was blessed by some powerful revivals of religion. Conference appointed to the Hudson charge several ministers of ability and marked spiritual power. Prominent among these were the Reverends Dillon Prosser, G. W. Chesbrough and Harvey Henderson. A few years ago, however, owing chiefly to deaths and removals, the church became small and at last disbanded, most of the members uniting with other churches in the town.

But my time has already expired. Permit me to remark, in conclusion, it is natural for us, and especially the young men and women of to-day, to say, "Surely there were giants in those days." Let me say to the young men and young women of the Academy that "new occasions teach new duties." We live in the midst of new conditions to-day which have brought new problems and which demand new wisdom. I believe that the twentieth century will present more problems than the century which is now drawing to a close; and if these churches of Hudson will recognize their present opportunities and will solve the great problem of the country church, they will solve it not simply for themselves, but for twenty thousand other country communities in the United States; and one hundred years from to-day my successor who speaks of the churches of Hudson dur-

ing the twentieth century will need many hours to tell you of their work and of their influence.

"Hudson in the War of '61," response by Hon. C. F. Seese, of Hudson.

Mr. Seese: My friends, I have no apology, but I stand to fill the place of another. I ask the toastmaster to be as good as his word in my case and call me down, if I talk longer than ten minutes. I suppose that he, among others, thought that I could fill the place, largely on account of my love for the soldier in the war of '61-'65, and I wish to confess if that was his thought that it was not a mistaken one. When John Brown was being taken to execution, the 2nd of December, in '59, he handed to the guard a paper, on which was written in substance, "I am now fully convinced that the crimes of this guilty land cannot be purged away without blood"; and that there was much shedding of blood many a soldier, today, even, who listens, can testify. Hudson is proud of her David Hudson. Hudson has always been proud of her ancestry; has always been proud of her college; has always been doting on her educational advantages, but I am here to say that Hudson is not less proud of her glorious record in the war of '61. From the buildings on the hill, the grand old college, the Western Reserve, there went at least one hundred and fifty men, one hundred of whom were graduates, I may say scholarly men who took up arms for what they knew in their hearts to be right. And I want to say here now, that education and patriotism have always gone hand in hand, and side by side, and heart to heart for better citizenship. And from without the walls of that college in the vicinity of Hudson and Hudson township, there went another 150 men to carry the stars and stripes, not for the north, not for the south, but for the north and south together. Today we stand beneath the folds of the grand old flag largely because more than 250 men went from Hudson with many others from all over this great nation, to fight for that flag. I want to say to the boys and girls of today that we have no grander duty than to applaud the soldier, than to honor him for having gone to war and made it possible for us to live in this grand, good, united country. It was for us that

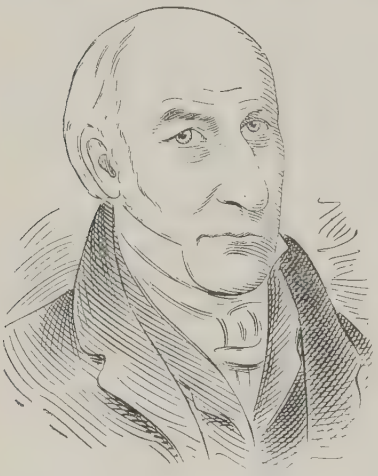
they went from their books, and from their fields, and we must learn that grand good lesson that should the time ever come when the scholar today must say "I go for my country's sake"—that he take up arms to fight for what he feels to be right, as did the men and boys from Hudson and vicinity. They fought well. They offered their lives and I have all honor for those who gave their lives on the battle-field, but I don't think any more of the soldiers who lie on the hills of Arlington or Tennessee or Gettysburg than I do of the soldiers who listen to me now. He offered his life—he took his chances on the field of battle; one staid and one came back, and I want to say that it is sufficient epitaph to write "he was a soldier." There are men today who think very little of the soldier, but I for one wish to give my voice and life and my pledge that so far as I am concerned nothing is too good for the man who offered his life that I might live. Many of the soldiers have come to the end of life; many of them have ascended one side of the hill and have gone down the other side. They have at last come to the foot of the hill and the sun has gone down in every case in a golden glow. The heavenly city lies just beyond. I wish to say to every man of the Grand Army of the Republic "Go in through the pearly gates, Grand Army, the beautiful pearly gates."

The exercises of the evening were held in the Congregational Church and consisted of a vocal and instrumental concert, followed by an address on "The Coming Century," by Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D., of New York, the distinguished divine, writer and orator. His address was most thoughtful and scholarly, but as it did not pertain to the history of Hudson we naturally omit it.

HUDSON CENTENNIAL APPENDIX.

DAVID HUDSON AND HEMAN OVIATT.

Hudson is town four, Range ten, and was purchased of the Connecticut Land Company by David Hudson, Birdseye Norton, Nathaniel Norton, Stephen Baldwin, Benjamin Oviatt, and Theodore Parmele, for fifty-two cents an acre. In the original survey it was laid down as a swamp township, and in order to make it equal to the average townships, there was annexed to it from the equalizing townships, 10,000 acres, which reduced the price of the land in this township to about thirty-four cents an acre.



DAVID HUDSON.

In the spring of 1799, David Hudson started from his home, Goshen, Litchfield county, Connecticut, for his new purchase. This journey, which is now performed with ease in a few hours, at that time took months. Near Grandequot Bay, on Lake Ontario, Hudson overtook Benjamin Tappan, the owner of Ravenna, with whom he subsequently kept company. In crossing Lake Ontario they overtook Elias Harmon, on his way to Mantua, where he had made a purchase. They then pursued their journey in company and on arriving at the foot of the rapids below Niagara Falls, landed their goods, and drew their boats around the Falls by land.

The party at length arrived opposite the mouth of Ashtabula creek, where they were driven on shore in a storm, and Mr. Harmon's boat stove in. Hudson purchased the wreck for $5, and repaired it, and with Mr. Tappan, proceeded up the lake. On the 8th of June they arrived at the location of Cleveland,

then occupied by a population of one family, Lorenzo Carter, from Rutland, Vt. Carter had a fine crop of wheat on the present site of the city; and the crop was worth more than the land on which it grew.

Hudson's party proceeded up the Cuyahoga, until they supposed they were in the latitude of Hudson, when they landed at the mouth of Brandywine creek, in what is now the town of Boston; and after a search of six days, discovered the southern line of Hudson.

Mr. Hudson erected a bark shantee and commenced putting in a field of wheat, and on the 25th day of July began the survey of his township, which he completed on the 10th of October, and on the 11th, with his son, Ira, then only seven years old, he left his new settlement to return to Goshen, Conn., for his family. He took the old wreck, bought of Harmon, and in this frail bark started down the lake. At Ontario county, N. Y., Mr. Hudson left his little son, and proceeded alone to Goshen, and immediately prepared to remove his family—and in Feb., 1800, left Goshen to return to his wilderness home in Ohio. They stopped at Bloomfield, Ontario county, N. Y., until spring, during which time Hudson purchased four boats, and thoroughly repaired the old one, which was now about to make its third trip across the lakes. On the 24th day of April, 1800, they started up the Mohawk, in their open boats; the fleet consisting of "Sloth," Capt. D. Hudson, "Lion," Capt. Joel Gaylord, "Beaver," Capt. W. McKinley. Reuben Bishop, then in his 13th year, was steersman on the "Duck." From the Mohawk, they passed down Wood Creek to Oneida Lake, through the lake to Oswego River, down that river to Lake Ontario, up the lake to the "Falls," round which they carried their fleet on wagons. They followed the lake until they reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga. On the 28th of May they reached their landing place at Brandywine creek, where they made some wooden sleds, on which to draw their things up to Hudson.

Elijah Noble, Luman Bishop, David Bishop and Joseph G. Bishop, drove the cattle and hogs by land through the wilderness, and arrived about the time of the fleet. When collected for public thanksgiving, as was done soon after they arrived,

the company consisted of David Hudson, his wife and six children, Samuel, Ira, William N., Milo D., Timothy and Abigail L.; Joel Gaylord, Heman Oviatt, Samuel Bishop, Joseph Darrow, George Crandell, Wm. McKinley, Allen Gaylord, Derick Stafford, Gordon Crandell, Dr. Moses Thompson, Reuben P. Barass, Reuben Bishop, Mrs. Samuel Bishop, Miss Ruth Gaylord, Mrs. Noble and an infant son.

On the 4th of July they celebrated our National Independence, David Hudson delivering the oration; after which all the inhabitants of the town and surrounding country, sat down to a sumptuous repast placed on a table made of bark spread on poles lying in crotched sticks set up in the ground. This table was surrounded by 43 persons, men women and children.

Of this party Heman Oviatt deserves special mention owing to the prominent part he took in the establishment not only of Hudson, but also of the town of Richfield.

Captain Heman Oviatt was born in Goshen, Litchfield county, Connecticut, September 20, 1775. He was the son of Benjamin Oviatt, who served in the Revolution, enlisting from Goshen. In April, 1800, Heman Oviatt, having caught the "western fever," left Goshen for the Western Reserve of Ohio. He left Connecticut on horseback and traveled till he reached Bloomfield, Ontario county, New York. There he found David Hudson fitting out his second expedition for Ohio. It was necessary to purchase, and take with them, not only their provisions, but all necessary implements for future use in the western wilds. They proceeded to Lake Ontario (as narrated above) where they bought flat boats called Schenectady Bat-

HEMAN OVIATT.

teaux. These boats were built at Schenectady, taken up the Mohawk river into Oneida lake, thence down the Oswego river to Lake Ontario, thence up the lake to Grandequot creek, from which point Hudson and Oviatt and party embarked. They started from Grandequot bay for Niagara river, and proceeded up the river to the landing below the falls. Here they unloaded and carried boats and goods by land around the falls, launched and reloaded above the falls, proceeded to Buffalo and thence in the open boats up Lake Erie to Cleveland, or rather to the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, having no propelling power but the muscle of stout arms and "white ash breeze" (oars) rowing all the way. Reaching the mouth of the Cuyahoga, they pushed their boats up the river to Brandywine creek, where they landed, and thence hauled their goods and provisions on wood sleds through the woods a distance of seven miles, to the location of Hudson, their destination, arriving there the last of May, 1800. Here they built themselves log huts and kept bachelor's hall through the summer, preparing a place in the wilderness for their families. Heman Oviatt located his land a mile south of the centre, and he and Joel Gaylord raised a shantee on the bank of the creek and put in four acres of spring wheat. In October, 1800, Captain Oviatt returned to Connecticut for his family, and on the 10th of January, 1801, with his wife and two children, Marvin and Orson, he left Goshen with a wagon and team and two yoke of oxen, which he drove himself by the way of New York, Reading and Pittsburg. They reached Hudson in safety on the 22nd of March, 1801. From this time on Heman Oviatt was intimately connected with the growth and history of the town of Hudson. He was a man of great energy, thrift and public spirit; of deep religious convictions with the stern unflinching character, cold exterior and rigid conduct of the Pilgrim fathers. To the foundation and perpetuity of the time-honored institution of learning, known as Western Reserve College (chartered February 7, 1826), and located at Hudson, Heman Oviatt contributed twelve thousand dollars—in those days a princely donation. He was an enthusiastic and liberal advocate of education, regarding it as not only promotive of good morals and religious faith, but of the best citizenship.

By the treaty of Fort McIntosh, in 1785, the Cuyahoga, Portage Path, and Tuscarawas were the western boundary of the United States. This was confirmed by what is called Wayne's Treaty, made at Greenville, August 3, 1795, when the chiefs of twelve tribes were present, and ratified it. The land on the west side of the Cuyahoga was not purchased till 1805, when the United States acquired it by the treaty of Fort Industry, on the Maumee.

Richfield being town four, in range twelve, was consequently west of the Cuyahoga, and became a part of the United States by the Treaty of Fort Industry in 1805, or by what was known in those days as "the new purchase." In the conveyance of "the Western Reserve" to the State of Connecticut, and by the State of Connecticut to "the Connecticut Land Company," Richfield in "the Drafts," fell to four proprietors. Benjamin Tallmadge drew the N. W. quarter, Capt. Smith the S. W. quarter, a family by the name of Green the S. E. quarter, and Uriel Holmes the N. E. quarter township containing 16,000 acres.

In 1811 Capt. Heman Oviatt returned to Connecticut, and in an interview with Col. Tallmadge, the Colonel expressed great fears of a war with England, and that one consequence would be the loss of our western territory. Capt. Oviatt had greater faith in the American Republic and inquired what the Colonel would take for his lands, when the Colonel offered them for $1.25 per acre. Capt. Oviatt agreed to give it, and thus became the owner of one-fourth of the township. He subsequently took his father, Benjamin, and brother, Nathaniel, into partnership in the speculation, and in the fall of that year Nathaniel moved onto the Richfield land.

Captain Oviatt continued to reside in Hudson till 1836, when he removed to Richfield with the history of which he was identified till his death, December 5, 1854.

Eunice Newton, daughter of Isaac Newton and granddaughter of John Newton, all of Goshen, Connecticut, where she was born, November 15, 1777, and married to Heman Oviatt, June 10, 1797, was one of the most remarkable women among the first settlers of the Western Reserve. She possessed extraordinary fortitude, bravery and presence of mind, and very many are

the accounts of her acts of kindness to the Indians and of courage in encountering the perils of frontier life. Among the Red men she won many firm friends, who in numerous instances rendered her inestimable service, indeed in two or three cases protected her life. She was a woman of varied accomplishments, and would have graced any sphere of life. She spoke three Indian languages fluently, Chippeway, Seneca and Delaware. Her regard for fidelity was very strict. She considered all verbal engagements between man and man, whether they were white or red, as sacred. She died September 13, 1813, at Hudson, Ohio. Heman Oviatt subsequently married Sophia Elmira Kilbourne, and upon the death of the latter married a Mrs. Curtiss, of Akron.*

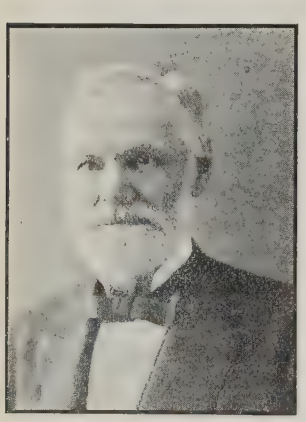
* An interesting recital of some of the pioneer experiences of Heman Oviatt and Eunice Newton Oviatt, in the Western Reserve frontier, is preserved in the history of the Newton and Oviatt families, written (1875) by Mrs. Harriet Oviatt Randall (b. Hudson, May 26, 1808, d. Columbus, September 12, 1885), daughter of Heman Oviatt and Eunice Newton (above) and wife of Rev. D. A. Randall, D. D. (b. January 14, 1813, Colchester, Conn., d. June 27, 1884, Columbus, Ohio), son of James and Joanna (Pemberton) Randall and grandson of John Randall and of Patrick Grant Pemberton, both Revolutionary soldiers in the Connecticut Volunteers. For much of the above data we are indebted to the "Historical Reminiscences of Summit county," by Gen. L. V. Bierce (Akron, Ohio, 1854).—E. O. R., Editor.

COMMENTS, NOTES AND REVIEWS.

E. O. Randall
Editor.

JOHN SHERMAN — A CHARACTERIZATION.

One of the greatest of Ohio's sons, as well as one of the most prominent and influential of our National characters, has passed away in the person of John Sherman. He belonged to a distinguished family. America has produced families no less illustrious than those of old England or the Continental countries. But America's families are eminent through the law of heredity, and not the law of patent nobility. The Adamses and Washburns, the Harrisons, the Bayards and the Shermans are notable examples of this law.



JOHN SHERMAN.

John Sherman was born at Lancaster, Ohio, May 10, 1823. He was descended from a long line of Puritan ancestors in Massachusetts and Connecticut. His father, Charles Robert Sherman, was a man of great legal ability and acumen. He was elected by the legislature to the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1823, and served until his death, June 24, 1829. Judge Sherman left a widow, eleven children and no property. The children had to "shift for themselves." The school of life was their academy. They graduated with highest honors. After their father's death, John went to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, to live with a cousin. In 1837, at the age of fourteen, he obtained a position as rodsman on the government works on the Muskingum river, but after two years' service was dismissed because of his open advocacy of the Whig party principles. He thus had an early taste of the uncertainty of office, and the despotic and arbitrary rule of the spoilsman. He then turned his attention to the law, went to Mansfield, took up his residence with his brother Charles, in whose office he pursued his legal studies and was admitted to the bar May 11, 1844. His public and political career began with his being a delegate from Ohio to the Whig National convention at Philadelphia in 1848, of which body he was secretary. In 1854 he was elected to

congress as an anti-Nebraska Republican, from the thirteenth district (Ohio). He was re-elected to congress as a Republican in 1856, 1858 and 1860. In the thirty-sixth Congress (1858) he was the Republican candidate for speaker, and came within two votes of election. He might have had those two votes by the promise of an apparently trivial concession to the slavocracy. He was not in the auction market. He was never, throughout his career, a purchasable article. On March 23, 1861, Mr. Sherman took his seat in the United States Senate, to which he had been elected by the Ohio Legislature. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1866, 1872, 1881, 1886 and 1892. In 1867 he introduced the Refunding Act, which was adopted in 1870, but without the resumption clause. In 1874 he introduced the famous Resumption Act, which passed the Senate the same year and the House early in 1875. This bill fixed the date for its going into effect as January 1, 1879. In 1877 he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by President Hayes, and in that portfolio had the unique experience of carrying out the crowning triumph of his fiscal policy, which he, as Senator, originated and advocated. The resumption of specie payments by the government was accomplished, despite the dismal forebodings of other acknowledged financiers. He resigned the Senatorship March 4, 1897, to accept the Premiership (Secretary of State) in President McKinley's cabinet. He occupied this position until April 28, 1898, when the arduous duties incident to the approaching Spanish war, and his own declining health, necessitated his retirement from public life, a public life extending over half a century and being almost unparalleled in American annals.

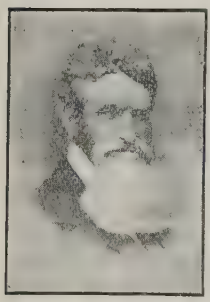
In 1880 John Sherman was the most prominent candidate for the Presidency, but James A. Garfield's speech, in nominating Mr. Sherman, so captivated the convention that the nominator himself became the nominee of the party. Again in 1884 Mr. Sherman's name was formally presented to the national convention. James G. Blaine was nominated. In 1888 John Sherman was the foremost candidate, leading all others for several ballots in the national convention. Benjamin Harrison was nominated. In 1892 Harrison was renominated. Mr. Sherman was not in evidence, nor did he reappear in the convention of 1896. John Sherman was ambitious. The "presidential bee" buzzed for years in his bonnet. He possessed every qualification for the presidency. He would have eminently filled the position. But he lacked the shining, winning elements of personal leadership. As a chieftain he "pleased not the million" but "was caviar to the general" public. His falling short of the highest honor in the nation poisoned him with bitter disappointment, and cast a sad and petulent tinge to the declining years of his life. He was extraordinarily honored, but he thought he deserved it. It was his due. He had not the insufferable arrogance of a Conkling, or the colossal conceit of a Sumner, but he did not wear self-deprecatory modesty — nor did he assume it. But he was no ordinary man. He averaged far above the level of modern statesmen. From the beginning of the Civil

War to the time of his retirement (1898) Mr. Sherman was a most notable figure in the halls of national legislature. As we have seen, he was four times elected to the House of Representatives, and six times elected to the United States Senate. He was twice a cabinet officer. Such a career was only possible to a man of the highest qualities, most commanding talent, strictest integrity and irreproachable reputation. In his long and unbroken official career Mr. Sherman held the confidence of the public, not only of his native state, but the entire country. He will be classed in history as a deep and broad statesman and a politician of the shrewdest and highest class. He was an influential participant in many of the great events of our national history during the period of the Civil War, and the days of the subsequent reconstruction. He was a close student of all economical and political questions. He was not an enthusiast nor a popular orator. He never posed for applause, he never "played to the grandstand," he never indulged in the graces of rhetoric, he was devoid of that non-descript element called "personal magnetism." He had little or no personal following. He was cold, austere, dignified. His most outspoken enemies deign to admit that he is entitled to credit for incorruptibility, for consistency and persistency of purpose, and to admiration for energy and force of character. His mind was not brilliant, but legal and judicial. His power of analysis was remarkable. His reasoning clear and logical, and his conclusions convincing. He was listened to and followed, and elected, because of the belief that he was a safe guide. In sentiment and speech he lacked descriptive power, humor, wit, geniality and pathos. Like Brutus, he "only spoke right on." He was cool, judicious, steadfast. He was a man of indomitable industry, he ever worshipped at the shrine of work. He succeeded more by close application than all else. And therein is he a model to all aspirants for success. As a man of affairs he had few equals, not only as to his public position, but his private acquirements. He had New England thrift and western speculative enterprise. Rare combination. Though always in public office, with its incessant and innumerable and exacting duties, he still kept a keen eye on the "main chance." The honesty and loyalty of his public acts and purity of his private life from beginning to end were never questioned, and he died a millionaire. He strenuously adopted the advice of Iago, "put money in thy purse." Perhaps no one in his elevation had less need for pelf; with no children, no vices, great or small, habits the simplest and mode of life painfully plain. In youth it might be said he was an aristocratic proletariat. In later life he became a democratic plutocrat. He was never a demagogue. He was a natural financier. Monetary matters were the normal subjects of his mind and study, the favorite field of his thought and action, as military affairs were of his distinguished brother, William Tecumseh Sherman, who next to Grant, was our greatest soldier chieftain. Mr. Sherman died October 22, 1899, in his home at Washington, D. C. He was buried at Mansfield, Ohio.

Mr. Sherman was one of the first members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and for some years took a personal interest in its proceedings. For ten years past, and at the time of his death, he was one of the trustees.

JOHN BROWN—A REVIEW.

In American history there are few, if any characters, the story of whose life is so erratic, dramatic or so tragic, as that of John Brown. As he spent his youth and many years of his manhood as a resident of Ohio (see account of the Hudson Centennial in the previous pages of this Quarterly) he is a proper subject for our consideration. His life has recently been written and published by William Elsey Connelley, a life member of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, the author of several valuable historical works, now a resident of Topeka, Kansas, where he improved unusual facilities for obtaining accurate knowledge concerning the career of John Brown in that state. Indeed, the work of Mr. Connelley deals mostly with the Kansas portion of Brown's efforts in behalf of freedom for the slaves. The author rather slightingly passes over the youth and formative period of John Brown, but does ampler justice to the latter part of his life. John Brown was the direct descendant of Peter Brown, an English Puritan, and one of the Pilgrim fathers, in the Mayflower, who landed on Plymouth Rock, December 22, 1620. Owen Brown, father of the famous John, was a Revolutionary hero, a tanner and a shoemaker, and lived at Torrington, Connecticut, where John was born, May 9, 1800. In the year 1805 the family moved to Hudson, Ohio. Owen Brown was an ardent abolitionist, and religiously encouraged similar sentiments in the minds of his children. John was taught from earliest childhood to "fear God and keep his commandments." He received no more education than fell to the lot of the average boy on the pioneer man's frontier, where schools were few and necessarily inferior. He had an exceptionally studious and reflective disposition. He read such books as came within his reach. They were mainly "Æsop's Fables," "Life of Franklin," "Pilgrim's Progress," "Plutarch Lives," "Life of Oliver Cromwell," "Baxter's Saint's Rest," Dr. Watts' Hymns, and above all and constantly the Bible. He learned little at school but something of mathematics and the principles of surveying. He never became much of a scholar. Thoreau has quaintly said of him, "He did not go to Harvard. He was not fed on the pap that is there furnished. As he phrased it, 'I know no more grammar than one of your calves,' but he went to the University of the West,



JOHN BROWN.

where he studied the science of liberty; and, having taken his degree, he finally commenced the public practice of humanity in Kansas. Such were his humanities — he would have left a Greek accent slanting the wrong way and righted up a falling man." He swore eternal enmity to slavery. About 1837 he assembled his household and devoutly laid before them the burden of his heart. The time for action had come. Henceforth he was to enlist in the war for freedom. His first soldiers were to be, like the converts of Mahomet, members of his own family. Three of his sons, then old enough, consecrated themselves to this work by prayer. In this service the father was seen for the first time to kneel in supplication, his uniform attitude previously having been that of "standing with reverence before the throne." We can not follow in detail the incidents of Brown's life as narrated by Mr. Connelley. He moved many times from Ohio to the East and back, and was engaged in many vocations. He was not a success in business enterprises. He failed several times, often at the expense of his friends. His honesty of purpose and integrity of conduct were not questioned. In 1840 he was residing at Hudson, Ohio, and engaged in the wool business. In 1842 he moved to Richfield, where he was involved in transactions with Heman Oviatt (see Hudson Centennial, ante). Mr. Oviatt and others became his sureties and were obliged to pay many thousand dollars in his behalf. This led to a law suit, which is fully reported in Oviatt v. Brown, 14 Ohio, 286. Yet Mr. Oviatt, grandfather of the writer of this incident, wrote subsequently, "from boyhood I have known him (John Brown), I have known him through manhood; and through life he has been distinguished for his truthfulness and integrity; he has ever been esteemed, by those who have known him, as a very conscientious man."

In 1844 John Brown moved to Akron, Ohio; in 1846 he went to Springfield, Massachusetts. He then made a tour through Europe, in which he particularly studied the battle fields of Napoleon. In 1849 he moved to North Elba, Essex county, New York. It was about this time that Gerritt Smith offered to colored settlers his wild lands in that district of the Adirondack wilderness. Many accepted his offer. John Brown offered to live with them and aid them. It is well known this experiment was a failure on the part of the negroes, though through no fault of John Brown's. Then came May 25, 1854, the passage by Congress of the bill providing for the organization of the Kansas and Nebraska territories and the repeal of the Missouri compromise (1820). The existence of slavery was left to the decision of the people of the state when admitted. Emigrants from Arkansas and Missouri immediately began to move into Kansas to hold the state for the pro-slavery party. On the other hand the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society sent out colonies to keep slavery out of the state. The "Kansas struggle" then began. All the details of this political discussion and warlike disturbance are fully told by Mr. Connelley, and this portion of his book

is a well digested resume of that important period. In 1854 the four eldest sons of John Brown, named John, Jr., Jason, Owen and Frederick, all children by his first wife, then living in Ohio, determined to move to Kansas. The removal, with two other sons and a son-in-law, was completed in 1855. The family settled near the Pottawattomie, a little stream in southern Kansas, in Lykins county, about eight miles distant from the site of Ossawattomie, which the deeds of his family, as Redpath says, subsequently converted into "classic ground." We can not dwell upon the exciting scenes that occurred in "Bleeding Kansas." Brown and his brave boys did not shrink from the conflict. In 1857 Brown, carrying with him the memory of his son Frederick, murdered at Ossawattomie, returned to his home at Elba. But he immediately began a crusade throughout New England in behalf of abolition, and in preparation for his contemplated insurrection at Harper's Ferry. This project was put in operation in the summer of 1859, which he spent in moving the arms and other articles from Ohio and various points to the vicinity of Harper's Ferry. Early in July he located with his little force, in disguise as farmers, upon the farm of Dr. Booth Kennedy, some five miles from Harper's Ferry, on the Maryland side of the Potomac. The little band at the Kennedy farm grew slowly, until it finally consisted of twenty-three, three of whom were his sons. They had adopted (earlier in the year in Chatham, Canada) a provisional government with a constitution. In compliance with this pretentious organization Captain John Brown was made commander-in-chief; John Henry Kagi, secretary of war; Richard Realf, secretary of state, and Owen Brown, treasurer. This government was to be proclaimed throughout the country round about, with the idea that accessions would swarm to it from the slaves and freedom sympathizers. A guerilla warfare was to be waged against the slave owners; slaves were to be liberated, armed and turned against their masters, etc. On Sunday, October 16 (1859) the little band, under cover of evening darkness, proceeded to Harper's Ferry, and during the night took possession of the armory by forcing the door and overcoming the watchman. By one o'clock on the morning of the 17th, Brown had complete possession of Harper's Ferry, and all the arms of the Federal government, then at that place. The subsequent events are well known history; how Colonel Robert E. Lee, of the U. S. army, was sent from Washington to suppress the invaders; how the door was forced, and Brown overcome with saber cuts and bayonet thrusts; his son Watson wounded and his son Oliver killed. Then followed the tragic and farcical trial at Charlestown, seat of Jefferson county, Virginia (now West Virginia), and the final scene at the scaffold, December 2, 1859. The north stood aghast. The slave power with malignant brutality had crushed John Brown and his movement, but they had stirred the North and aroused the slumbering sentiment that burst forth in the flames of Civil War. Mrs. D. A. Randall, daughter of Heman Oviatt, the mother of the writer of this review, was throughout life an intimate personal

friend and ardent admirer of and deep sympathizer with John Brown. He wrote her a letter the night before his execution, expressing his appreciation of her long friendship and his perfect resignation to his fate. Well do we remember, though at that time but a child of eight, how on the morning of December 2, after the breakfast meal, that mother at the morning invocation, broke forth in a fervent prayer that Divine Providence would sustain John Brown in the ordeal through which, in a few hours he was to pass, and bless the cause for which he was to die. Thousands of such petitions ascended throughout the land.

John Brown's execution was a triumphant apotheosis. He suffered death upon the scaffold. It was an unparalleled exhibition of consecrated heroism in behalf of the cause of freedom. His soul went marching on and led the armies of liberty and humanity to the sublimest victory the world has ever witnessed.

John Brown is one of the great characters of history. He had a prophetic soul, the fortitude and faith of the Christian martyrs. His life and deeds will shine brighter and brighter throughout the ages. The story of his life, with all its undercurrents and its subtle influences and tendencies, has not yet been told. Mr. Von Holst has touched upon the philisophy of his life. Mr. Sanborn has thrown much light upon the events of his career. Mr. Redpath has concisely related the main facts. But the proper historian of John Brown has not yet appeared, perhaps he is not yet born. Mr. Connelley's book admirably accomplishes the purpose for which it was put forth. It should be read by all students of John Brown. It is published by Crane & Co., Topeka, Kansas.

BURKE AARON HINSDALE.

Burke Aaron Hinsdale, born at Wadsworth, Ohio, March 31, 1837, died at Atlanta, Georgia, November 29, 1900. His ancestors were New England Puritans. His parents came from Connecticut to the Western Reserve in 1812. Burke was raised upon the farm. He had an irresistible desire for scholarship. At the age of sixteen he made his way to Hiram Hill, where the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute (afterwards Hiram College) had been opened three years before. For thirty years, as student and professor, Mr. Hinsdale was identified with this institution. Young Garfield was a fellow student, and there sprang up between them a firm and sympathetic friendship, broken only by the tragic death of Garfield. Professor Hinsdale was a close and accurate scholar. Possessed of a remarkable memory and an omniverous reader, he became a man of most extensive and useful information. He was a natural educator. He became President of Hiram College (1870), was ordained to the Christian ministery. For years associate editor of the Christian Standard. His capacity for work and powers of endurance, almost incredible. He lectured, preached, edited, talked and wrote books

to an astonishing extent. In 1882 he was made superintendent of the schools of Cleveland. He became famous throughout the country as authority upon the questions touching our public schools, their management, the courses of study, discipline of the pupils and general training of the youth. In 1888 he was called to the chair of the Science and Art of Teaching at the University of Michigan. This position he filled with great ability until the time of his death. Some of his published works are "The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospels," "The Jewish Christian Church," "Ecclesiastical Traditions," "Schools and Studies," "Campaign Text Book for 1880," "President Garfield and Education," "Garfield's Life and Works" (2 Vols.), "The Old Northwest," "The American Government," "How to Teach and Study History," "Jesus as a Teacher," "Teaching the Language Arts," "Studies in Education," "Civil Government of Ohio," "Life of Horace Mann," "The Art of Study," "A History of the University of Michigan." A monograph on the "Training of Teachers" which he wrote was awarded a medal at the late Paris Exposition. Besides the above he contributed extensively to educational journals and reviews. Several valuable articles in the early numbers of the Ohio Archœological and Historical Publications, were from his pen. He took a deep and constant interest in this Society, and only a short time before his death, did the writer of these lines receive a letter from Prof. Hinsdale concerning some work he wished to do for us. He was a veritable encyclopedia upon the events of the early history of Ohio. He received academic honors from Williams College, Bethany College, Hiram College, Ohio University and Ohio State University. He was a member of many educational, historical and literary societies. He was a most genial and companionable man; a most entertaining conversationalist, brimming over with information upon almost any topic. The writer has spent many a delightful hour in his company. He was deep in sympathy with young men, their struggles, their difficulties, their aims, their triumphs. To his pupils he was always warm-hearted, helpful and encouraging. He was the true tutor, not only informing, but inspiring. There are few whose lives are so rounded out and so fruitful as was that of Burke Aaron Hinsdale.

Our Society Library is much enriched by a complete set of the *Old South Leaflets*. These leafllets are reprints of important original papers (lectures and essays), accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They are edited by Edwin D. Mead, the wellknown author and scholar. They are published under the auspices of the Directors of the Old South Work, Old South Meeting House, Boston, Mass. These leaflets now embrace a hundred different subjects, each one of them of importance and interest in American History, chiefly of the New England pioneer period. They may be obtained in single leafllets for five

cents each, or bound in volumes (4) at $1.50 per volume. In these publications Mr. Edwin Mead is accomplishing great good, not only in the distribution of the very best historical literature, but in creating an interest in the chief events of our country. Mr. Mead is especially engaged in eliciting the attention of the school children and young people to American history. He has inaugurated excursions of young people from Boston to neighboring localities of historic prominence. On these excursions lectures or talks are given concerning the point visited. Mr. Mead thinks this would be an excellent suggestion for our Society. Certainly some very entertaining and profitable trips could be made from Columbus to points, near by, of great archœological and historic interest.

One of the most satisfactory little volumes that has appeared as the outcome of the sudden expansion of our national territory and industrial growth, and their number (volume) is legion, is *The Expansion of the American People*, by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of American History in the University of Chicago. Mr. Sparks is an Ohio boy and a graduate of the O. S. U. His book is a very readable statement of the various phases of our national growth, such as: early accessions of territory. migration of New England civilization across the continent to the Pacific; the different sorts of settlements as represented in the Puritan, the French, German and Spanish colonizations; their assimilation into the American political and social life; the growth and methods of communication, transportation, and travel throughout the country. His accounts of the formation of the roadways, canals, steam railroads, trolley lines, etc., are graphic and most valuable. It is an excellent summary of what the American people have done since the discovery of the continent to the acquisition of the Philippines. Mr. Sparks has a most happy style, and while being strictly historical and being packed with facts, like sardines in a box, his little book reads like a romance. Published by Scott, Foresman & Co., Chicago, Ill.

Speaking of expansion reminds us that our Society is not behind in that feature of the times. Since the issue of our October Quarterly (1900) the Society has added greatly to its possessions by the acquisiiton of Serpent Mound and Park, located in Adams county, Ohio, some six miles from the little station of Peebles. This property is some sixty acres in extent, embracing the hill which is crowned by that most renowned relic of the Mound Builders, known as the Serpent. Complete descriptions of this unique memorial of a prehistoric race will be found in Volume I, page 187, of our Society's publications. We were enabled to secure this through the efforts of Prof. F. W. Putnam, of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. A proper statement of the

transfer of this property from its former owners, the Trustees of Harvard University, to our Society, will be made in the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Society, which appears elsewhere in this number of the Quarterly. Our Society therefore enters the twentieth century with the custodianship of the two most extensive and rare earth remains extant of those curious and obscure people known as the Mound Builders. Perhaps the twentieth century will divulge to us some of the things we have sought to know, but never learned, concerning those races which seem to have had remarkable success in "covering their tracks." But our archœological explorers, in the language of the frontiersman, will continue "to camp on their trail."

Professor J. Franklin Jameson, Ph. D., recently professor of history in Brown University, and now professor of American History in the Chicago University, and managing editor for the past few years of The American Historical Review, is responible for a "Dictionary of United States History," (1492–1899). Issued by the History Publishing Co., Boston, Mass. It consists of some seven hundred and fifty pages, 7x9½ (inches). Considering the centuries covered and the conciseness of the covering, it is a creditable work. Its chief defect is in what it does not do. Innumerable events and countless personages, which deserve notice in connection with American history, are ignored, while many which might be spared, comparatively speaking, are given space. Some of the paragraphs show haste and carelessness in preparation. We do not suppose that Prof. Jameson personally did this work — such compilations are usually produced by proxy. This dictionary, however, is valuable as a ready running index to the more important subjects in United States History. In the language of the street, "it puts you on to what you want to know." We commend the book to those who want to know quickly who is who and what is what, in United States History. It is cheap and convenient.

If there is any one panacea for the ills and evils of our nation, it is universal education. Particularly is this the remedial application for the southern states. One of the best and bravest institutions for this purpose is Berea College, established at Berea, Kentucky. It is a modest little college in the midst of wild and mountain surroundings. Its pupils are mostly the untutored and almost uncivilized productions of the primitive mountain homes. As the writer heard President Frost recently say, in a public address, "It is a long way from President McKinley to Abraham Lincoln, but you may travel it by going to the rural vicinage of Berea." You may see life there to-day precisely as it was in the boyhood of Abraham Lincoln. The Berea Quarterly is a modest little

pamphlet, setting forth the work of Berea College, and telling much of the history and romance of the country in which it is located. We wish every advocate of education might read the little Berea Quarterly.

PUBLIC POLICY, "a medium for diffusing correct economic instruction on questions of public policy," comes to us each week and is one of the most satisfactory publications of its kind. It is replete with original articles on the various topics of political and social science, and reprints of what is best in all the publications. It is edited by Allen Ripley Foote, who is the author of several standard works on economical, and particularly municipal topics. He has made a thoughtful study of the Ohio Municipal Code, prepared by the State Commission, and rejected by the Legislature, and has published his considerations in a concise and valuable pamphlet. Public Policy is published at Chicago at $2.00 per year.

FOR COMPLIMENTARY notices of our Quarterly, we make acknowledgment to the *Review of Reviews*, *Book Reviews*, *The Chautauquan*, *Public Policy*, *The Old North West*, *The Outlook*, *Theologische Zeitblaetter*, *The Young People's Paper*, and particularly to some of the daily papers, the *Evening Dispatch*, *Press Post*, *Citizen*, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Ohio State Journal*, *St. Louis Globe*, *Sandusky Register*, *the Chillicothe Advertiser* and others.

WE ARE in receipt of a brief booklet suggesting to the little ones the legend of Fort St. Clair, adjoining Eaton, Preble county — a location filled with historic interest and romantic memories of early pioneer days. The pamphlet is a sketchy, poetic production by Mrs. S. E. Reynolds, of Eaton, Ohio, Secretary of the National Association of Ladies Naval Veterans of U. S. A.

WE ACKNOWLEDGE our indebtedness to Gen. A. V. Rice of the U. S. Census Bureau for valuable documents; also to the Baker Art Gallery, Columbus, for the photograph from life of the Hon. John Sherman.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society

TO THE

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE AND THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

BY E. O. RANDALL, SECRETARY.

COLUMBUS OHIO, JANUARY, 1901.

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HON. S. S. RICKLY - - - - - - - - - - - - Columbus
MR. G. F. BAREIS - - - - - - - - - - Canal Winchester
HON. A. R. McINTIRE - - - - - - - - - - - - Mt. Vernon

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

Time Expires as Indicated.

GEN. GEO. B. WRIGHT, Columbus - - - - - - - - - - 1901
HON. ISRAEL WILLIAMS, Hamilton - - - - - - - - - 1901
PROF. B. F. PRINCE, Springfield - - - - - - - - - - 1902
HON. E. O. RANDALL, Columbus - - - - - - - - - - 1902
HON. CHAS. P. GRIFFIN, Toledo - - - - - - - - - - 1903
REV. N. B. C. LOVE, Elmore - - - - - - - - - - - 1903

* Died October 22, 1899.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was held in the parlors of the Y. M. C. A. Building, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:15 P. M., February 1, 1900, with the following members present:

General R. Brinkerhoff, President	Mansfield.
E. O. Randall, Secretary	Columbus.
Hon. A. R. McIntire	Mt. Vernon.
G. F. Bareis	Canal Winchester.
B. F. Prince	Springfield.
A. B. Coover	Roxabelle.
Rev. H. A. Thompson	Dayton.
Hon. Charles Foster	Fostoria.
Gerard Fowke	Chillicothe.
John D. H. McKinley	Columbus.
E. F. Wood	"
Hon. D. J. Ryan	"
Col. James Kilbourne	"
Dr. M. P. Hunt	"
H. A. Gard	"
Gen. G. B. Wright	"
R. E. Neil	"
Judge J. H. Anderson	"
E. H. Archer	"
Frank I. Brown	"
W. C. Mills	"
George H. Twiss	"
C. S. Van Tassel	Bowling Green.
Hon. S. S. Rickly	Columbus.

General Brinkerhoff presided. E. O. Randall, Secretary, read the minutes of the previous Annual Meeting (held May 1, 1899, Y. M. C. A. Building, Columbus, Ohio), which were approved.

Letters of regret, at being unable to attend this Annual Meeting, were read from Bishop Benjamin Arnett and Hon. Israel Williams, Trustees of the Society.

The Secretary was called upon by the President for his Annual Report to the Trustees of the Society. He stated the

custom required that the Secretary should make a report each year at the Annual Meeting of the Society. It is also a courtesy rather than a requirement, that the Society make a report to the Governor each year, since the Society is a quasi-state institution. This has always been done since the legislature began making appropriations for the Society, therefore each year when the other departments have reported to the Governor, the Secretary has also, in behalf of the Executive Committee and the Board of Trustees, made a formal and full report to the Governor, and that report has been made to answer at the Annual Meetings as the report also to the Society. That report, to the Governor, for the past year, you all doubtless have in your hands. It was published a month ago, and has been submitted to the Governor and the members of the Legislature. (That report will be found in Vol. VIII, pages 345 to 371 of the annual publications.)

A letter was submitted and read to the trustees concerning the property still held by the Ridge family and other parties, consisting of twenty-one acres at and including the northern end of Ft. Ancient, which is not yet owned by the State, and which the proprietors are willing to part with for the sum of $3,000. The Secretary explained that this subject revived some interesting ancient history, that in '95, through correspondence with the Ridges, the latter gave a written option on that property for $900, at the same time Mr. Couden, who owned a large tract, embracing property (104 acres) both within and without the southern end of the Fort, agreed to sell for $50 an acre. With these propositions in hand the Secretary (Randall) went before the joint committee of the House and Senate (March, 1896) and presented the proposition for the state. The Committee thought both tracts ought to be obtained for $5200 and that amount was appropriated by the Legislature to cover the purchases. The Secretary upon proceeding to Ft. Ancient to consummate the negotiations found that the Ridges had raised their price to $3,000, on the ground that they had prospectively sold the property to the "Ft. Ancient Hotel Company" for building lots for a Summer Resort, that the said company had also begun the building of a Summer Hotel, and in order to recoup themselves they would have to receive $3,000 for the property.

That Summer Resort and hotel scheme as exploited by the Ft. Ancient Hotel Company reads like a chapter from Münchausen's Tales. The "company" was to represent a capital of $15,000. They proposed to erect a frame structure to "Summerize" one hundred and fifty guests with most elaborate metropolitan hotel accommodations, electric lights, ball room, billiard room, bowling alleys, etc. Back of the hotel, in the ravine, was to be created an artificial lake with bathing, boating and fishing facilities. The appointments of the hostelry were to be so comfortable and restful, that the guest might "dream he dwelt in marble halls." Bands were to play at the meals and guests in picturesque, rural attire, were to gaze from the open balconies, spellbound, upon the earthen relics of a pre-historic race. This was all imaginatively advertised by the general manager of the company, a veritable Colonel Sellers, in the daily papers, circulars and even magazines. (American Home Magazine, May, 1896.) Excursion trains from various parts of the state were to be run to Ft. Ancient to carry the crowds, rushing to the spot to eagerly purchase lots for cozy cottages. They claimed to have expended $8,000 in giving publicity to this fairy undertaking. They actually broke ground for the cellar — they also "broke" several who were not sellers but buyers in the enterprise. The Secretary, of course, upon confronting the situation, respectfully refused to purchase this air castle or to further proceed in negotiations with its promoters. The Couden tract was bought. Thus the matter has stood until this time. The state ought to acquire this Ridge strip of land to complete the possession of the Fort — but of course only at the proper figure. The whole subject was referred to the Executive Committee for their consideration.

Mr. Bareis, Chairman of the Ft. Ancient Committee, reported that they had expended about $1200 in repairing the tenant's house on Ft. Ancient; that we now have a well built, spacious, eight room dwelling house, affording comfortable quarters for the Trustees or Committee when they visit the Fort and wish to spend the day or night, and also to accommodate visitors, when any wish quarters for a day or more, which frequently happens, as there is no hotel or place where strangers

or travelers can be cared for at, or in the vicinity of, the Fort. Mr. Bareis also reported that they had renewed the contract, for three years, with Mr. Warrren Cowen to take charge of the Fort, and employ a responsible tenant to keep the house and be constantly on the ground to protect and care for the property, and look after vsitors who might come to inspect the Fort.

Hon. A. R. McIntire, as Chairman of the Auditing Committee, consisting of Prof. Prince, Judge Anderson and himself, appointed to examine and report upon the expense of the improvement incurred by the Ft. Ancient Committee, in the reconstruction of the building, made a report which was as follows: "We, the undersigned Committee, appointed to audit certain transactions of the Executive Committee, and to which the above bill has been referred, report that they have examined the proposals, bills of materials, contracts, statements and vouchers furnished by the Ft. Ancient Committee, and find the contracts to have been judiciously made, at fair prices, that the labor and material represented in an accompanying statement has been actually used in the reconstruction of the building at Ft. Ancient, except a defect in the plastering, and has all been paid for, except $17.80 to be paid on the completion of the plastering. This Committee approves the action of the Ft. Ancient Committee, and recommends the thanks of the Society. Signed, A. R. McIntire, B. F. Prince, J. H. Anderson." (February 1, 1900.) This report was approved and ordered entered upon the record.

Mr. W. C. Mills made a verbal report to the meeting, supplemental to what he had said in the Annual Report, particularly as to his work as Librarian, to which office, in addition to the Curatorship, he had been elected by the Executive Committee on December 8, 1899. The Library was receiving valuable and numerous accessions constantly from various Societies, Libraries and individuals. As Curator he had received and answered 312 letters during the year. He urged each member of the Society to be on the lookout for books, through their own libraries or those of friends, which books might be donated to the Society's Library. It was an excellent depository for much valuable literature which would likely be lost in private libraries.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

The Secretary reported that the five Trustees whose terms expired at this meeting were Hon. Elroy M. Avery of Cleveland, Bishop B. W. Arnett of Wilberforce, Hon. S. S. Rickly of Columbus, Hon. G. F. Bareis of Canal Winchester and Hon. A. R. McIntire of Mt. Vernon. The death of Rev. Dr. Moore (June 5, 1899), also created a vacancy in the Board of Trustees. Mr. Moore's term would have expired February 1, 1902. Also the death of Robert Clark (August 7, 1899), created a vacancy. Robert Clark's term would have expired February 1, 1902. A committee of five, consisting of D. J. Ryan, W. C. Mills, H. A. Thompson, E. H. Archer and R. E. Neil, were named by the Chair to present nominations to fill the above vacancies. After due consultation they reported as follows: "To fill vacancies of Dr. Moore and Robert Clark, Hon. John Hay, Washington, D. C., and Col. James Kilbourne, Columbus, to serve two years until February 1, 1902. To serve three years, to February 1, 1903, Hon. E. M. Avery, Cleveland; Bishop B. W. Arnett, Wilberforce; Hon. S. S. Rickly, Columbus; Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; and Hon. A. R. McIntire, Mt. Vernon." The Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Society in accordance with this report. He did so. They were declared elected.

NEW MEMBERS.

The Secretary reported that the Trustees during the past year (1899) had elected to Life Membership in the Society the following: Willard B. Carpenter, M. D., Columbus; A. B. Coover, Roxabelle; Henry S. Hallwood, Columbus; Prof. Archer B. Hulbert, Cleveland; W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe; Mrs. Elijah P. Jones, Findlay; Walter A. Mahoney, Columbus; Prof. J. M. Mulford, Columbus; Mr. Louis Siebert, Columbus.

The Secretary also proposed for election, at this meeting, for Life Membership, the following names: Hon. George K. Nash, Columbus; W. O. Thompson, President O. S. U., Columbus; Gen. John Beatty, Columbus; Supt. J. A. Shawan, Columbus; Rev. I. F. King, Columbus; Col. J. T. Holmes, Columbus; Hon. T. E. Powell, Columbus; George H. Twiss, Columbus;

O. A. Miller, Columbus; W. F. Burdell, Columbus; W. R. Walker, Columbus; Gen. George B. Wright, Columbus; S. F. Harriman, Columbus. They were duly elected.

Dr. E. B. Fullerton and Col. E. L. Taylor, both of Columbus, were elected to Active Membership.

Mr. Gerard Fowke outlined at some length the character of the forthcoming Archæological History of Ohio, which he was preparing for publication by the Society.

Col. James Kilbourne, President of the Centennial Commission, spoke at length of the forthcoming Ohio Exposition at Toledo, dwelling particularly upon the work which our Society should do at that Exposition, and urging members of the Society to co-operate with the Centennial Commission in securing a million dollars from the Legislature. Hon. D. J. Ryan, Director General of the Ohio Centennial, also spoke most enthusiastically and emphatically in support of Col. Kilbourne's views, and in advocacy of the Society's co-operation. Hon. Charles Foster also spoke concerning the proposed Toledo exhibit, and complimented very highly the work of the Society, and his desire to assist in its efforts in every way. Prof. G. F. Wright presented his views as to what the Society should do in its exhibit at that Centennial.

The Secretary expressed the hope, indeed the expectation, that great results would be forthcoming for the Society at this Centennial. He thought that if the state made the appropriation proposed ($1,000,000) the Commission ought to allow at least twenty-five thousand dollars for a building for the Society, so constructed on the grounds at Toledo, that it might subsequently be removed to Columbus and furnish a permanent habitation for our work and effects.

Upon the adjournment of the Annual Meeting of the Society, there was held at the same place immediately thereafter, the

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Those present were: J. H. Anderson, G. F. Bareis, R. Brinkerhoff, James Kilbourne, A. R. McIntire, B. F. Prince, E. O. Randall, D. J. Ryan, H. A. Thompson, George B. Wright and G. Frederick Wright. Gen. Brinkerhoff acted as Chairman and Mr. Randall as Secretary. The Secretary read Section 2 of Article 3 of the Constitution concerning the election of officers.

Gen. Brinkerhoff was unanimously elected President for the ensuing year. He made fitting acknowledgment in a few words of the continued honor. Gen. George B. Wright was elected First Vive-President and Mr. George F. Bareis Second Vice-President. Mr. S. S. Rickly was elected Treasurer and Mr. E. F. Wood Assistant Treasurer. Mr. E. O. Randall was elected Secretary. Mr. W. C. Mills was elected Curator and Librarian. The Trustees then selected as the Executive Committee to act for the Board of Trustees for the ensuing year the following: J. H. Anderson, G. F. Bareis, R. Brinkerhoff, James Kilbourne, A. R. McIntire, B. F. Prince, E. O. Randall, S. S. Rickly, D. J. Ryan, George B. Wright.

Upon motion and vote the Executive Committee was thereupon empowered to fix, at its convenience, the compensation of such officers as were paid by the Society. After some informal discussion as to the policy of the Society for the forthcoming year the Trustees adjourned.

Governor Nash appointed on February 18, 1900, as Trustees of the Society to serve for three years (to February 1, 1903), Hon. Charles Griffin of Toledo to succeed himself, and the Rev. N. B. C. Love of Elmore to succeed Hon. Andrew Robeson of Greenville.

The Hon. John Hay of Washington, D. C., on being notified of his election as Trustee, respectfully declined the honor because, as he wrote, "I have had to decline so many requests of this nature from other friends, that it might seem invidious if I should allow my name to be printed among your list of Trustees."

The Executive Committee at its March meeting elected the

Hon. Samuel F. Hunt of Cincinnati to serve in the Trusteeship declined by Mr. Hay.

Meetings of the Executive Committee were held (in 1900) as follows: February 1, March 16, April 30, June 11, July 24, September 18, October 15, November 5, December 5 and January 4 (1901).

In the March meeting the Trustees elected Life Members of the Society as follows: J. A. Jeffrey, W. R. Walker, Prof. George A. Chambers, R. N. Hubbard and Irvine Butterworth, all of Columbus, and Dr. Clark Bell (Editor of the Medico Legal Journal), of New York. Mr. Herbert Osborn was elected an active member.

In the April meeting: To Life Membership, Frank Tallmadge, Hon. E. N. Huggins, Hon. Charles P. Galbreath, Miss Harriet N. Townsend, all of Columbus; Prof. W. F. Heilman of Canal Winchester; and to Active Membership, Dr. Wallace N. Stearns of Delaware, Ohio.

In the June meeting: To Life Membership, Gen. Warren Keifer, Edward L. Buchwalter and Richard H. Rodgers of Springfield, and Henry Harrison Greer of Mt. Vernon. To Active Membership, Jonathan F. Linton of Columbus, Edward N. Halbedel of Upper Sandusky, and Major Robert M. Davidson (Secretary Ohio Society S. A. R) of Newark.

In the July meeting: To Life Membership, William E. Connelley of Topeka, Kansas. To Active Membership, Frank R. Shinn of Columbus.

In the September meeting: To Life Membership, Mr. J. E. Baum and Mr. Pollard Hill of Ross County, Frederick B. Hoffman and Dr. G. S. Stein of Columbus.

In the October meeting: To Active Membership, Prof. Amon B. Plowman of Delaware, and Prof. B. F. Stanton of Salem.

In the November meeting: To Life Membership, Mr. E. H. Archer of Columbus, and Nelson W. Evans of Portsmouth.

In the January meeting: To Life Membership, Prof. C. L. Martzolff of New Lexington.

HISTORY AND FAILURE OF OHIO CENTENNIAL.

The 73rd General Assembly, on April 26, 1898, passed an act to provide for the appointment of a Centennial Commission and payment of the expenses thereof. This act authorized the Governor "to appoint a Commission to consist of twenty-one members, one member of which Commission shall be selected from each of the Congressional districts of this state, and not more than eleven of whom shall belong to any one political party, who shall serve without pay or compensation, but whose actual and legitimate expenses shall be paid on vouchers to be approved by the Governor." The act further specifies the duties and purposes of this commission; to acquaint themselves with the grounds where the exposition was to be held — (Toledo, as previously selected by the legislature) — to examine plans for improvement of the grounds, inspect such improvements as they were made, and "to procure plans and propositions pertaining to said exposition and recommendations and suggestions generally that would be of profit in determining what this state should do in forwarding said exposition; * * * and all of such plans, recommendations, suggestions, propositions and information said commission shall report to the next general assembly within ten days from the beginning of its first session," etc. In accordance with this act the Governor appointed as such commission: W. H. Stewart, Cincinnati; Capt. M. A. McGuire, Cincinnati; Nathaniel P. Ramsey, Dayton; William Binkley, Sydney; George K. Otis, Hicksville; John W. Davis, Batavia; Henry Flesh, Piqua; L. J. Fenton, Winchester; M. H. Donahue, New Lexington; George B. Christian, Marion; Curtis E. McBride, Mansfield; B. J. McKinney, Marietta; T. G. Donaldson, Scroggsfield; Jesse P. Forbes, Coshocton; J. Craig Smith, Youngstown; John M. Stull, Warren; D. E. McLean, Cleveland; James W. Conger, Cleveland; James Kilbourne, Columbus; John F. Kumler, Toledo; William A. Belt, Kenton. The Commission elected Col. James Kilbourne President and Lem P. Harris of Toledo Secretary. It acted in accordance with its authority and made an elaborate report to the succeeding (74th) legislature.

The 74th General Assembly, after much discussion and at times exciting debate, finally appropriated the sum of $500,000 "For the Ohio Centennial and Northwest Territory Exposition." (94 Ohio Laws, 197, 267.) The Centennial Commission contended uncompromisingly for one million, and in this they were heartily supported by the people of Toledo. After the appropriation of this amount and the adjournment of the legislature, the availability, under the law, of the $500,000 was brought in question and submitted to the State Supreme Court, and decided by that body in State ex rel. Harris v. Guilbert, Auditor, 63 Ohio St., 177. The decision was: "There is no provision by which the appropriation of $500,000 made by the last legislature, 'for the Ohio Centennial and Northwest Territory Exposition,' can be made available for the purpose designated, the duties of the Ohio Centennial Commission created by the act of the legislature, passed April 26, 1898, being advisory and not executive." (Decided June 26, 1900.) This decision was in substance, that though the money was appropriated, neither the Ohio Centennial Commission nor any other agency had been authorized to expend or direct the expending of the fund. This summarily disposed of the Ohio Centennial Exposition, and with its abandonment went the hopes and prospects of the participation, in that exposition, of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

CENTENNIAL BUILDING FOR THE SOCIETY.

Now that the Society has lost the anticipated opportunity of securing permanent quarters, as one of the results of the intended Ohio Centennial Exposition, it is justified in looking in other directions for a suitable building. The suggestion has come from many quarters throughout the state, and has been advocated by some of the leading daily papers, that a fitting manner for Ohio to recognize its centenary as a state, would be for the legislature to appropriate say $50,000 for a memorial building to be erected, either in the center of Columbus, or perhaps on the grounds of the Ohio State University. Such building to be the abiding place of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, the Relic Room — now in the capitol building — and the repository of kindred collections. The dedi-

cation of this building could be made a state occasion, with addresses and proper official exercises. Certainly the hundredth birthday of the Buckeye state should not go unrecognized, and if commemorated as above, the expense would be comparatively unnoticed and the results immeasurable and enjoyed by this and future generations.

PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION.

Another exposition disappointment for our Society occurred in our yielding the idea of taking part in the Pan-American Exposition to be held at Buffalo, in the Summer of 1901. The 74th General Assembly authorized the Governor to appoint a Commission of three residents of the state of Ohio, whose duty it should be to direct the construction of an Ohio building on the grounds of said Pan-American Exposition. And to take charge of the same during the exposition. And for the furtherance of this purpose, the legislature appropriated $25,000 "for the erection and equipment of such building" and the sum of $5,000 "for the expenses of the Commission provided for in this act, and to pay for the necessary help in caring for such building." (94 Ohio Laws, 167.) The Governor appointed as such Commission the Honorables W. S. McKinnon, Charles L. Swain and Samuel L. Patterson. Shortly after their appointment the Secretary (Randall) conferred with them concerning the exhibition by our Society at Buffalo of our Archæological Museum, or portions of it, and possibly the illustration of some features of the methods of our Archæological explorations. At the same time correspondence was carried on, both by the Secretary and our Curator, W. C. Mills, with Dr. A. L. Benedict, Superintendent of Ethnology and Archæology in the Pan-American Exposition. The latter was very earnest in his solicitation that our Society be represented at Buffalo. The Ohio Pan-American Commission finally decided that they would be unable to use any of their funds in assisting our Society. And after much consideration it was decided that our Society could not legally divert any of its funds for the purpose in question. Dr. A. L. Benedict endeavored to come to our assistance through the authorities of the Buffalo Exposition, but finally on November 20, 1900, we were obliged to write Dr. Benedict that we

should have to give up the expectation of being in evidence at the Buffalo Exposition. We wish, however, in this place to sincerely thank the Ohio Commission for its earnest efforts in trying to assist us in this matter.

We were invited to be present and engage in the interesting exercises of the Hudson Centennial, held at Hudson, Ohio, June 5, 1900. We were unable to be present, but have given a full account of this event in the January (1901) Quarterly of the Society.

The past year, 1900, marked the hundredth year anniversary of the settlement of Lancaster (city) and Fairfield County, and our Society offered to assist the people of that historic town in fittingly celebrating the occasion. The proposal was considered by their citizens in public meeting, but the project for sufficient reason was finally abandoned.

ACQUISITION OF SERPENT MOUND.

It will be recalled that during the visit of Prof. F. W. Putnam of Harvard University to the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Columbus, August, 1899, that gentleman stated to the officers of our Society that if we would accept, repair and suitably preserve and guard the property known as Serpent Mound, in the possession of the Peabody Museum, that the trustees of that institution would transfer to us said property. (See Vol. VIII, page 366, of our annual publications.) In December, 1899, in pursuance of this generous proposition, we began correspondence with Prof. Putnam as to the nature of the title we would receive, etc. After proper presentation of the matter to the Finance Committee of the House (March, 1900) that committee recommended, and the legislature gave us, in the appropriation bill, $500 for the first year and $200 for the second "For the repair and care of Serpent Mound." In view of this assurance of our ability to properly protect the property, Prof. Putnam brought the matter before the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and after the required deliberation and necessary proceedings, that institution forwarded us a deed to the property. This deed recites, "That this conveyance is upon the condition that the grantee

corporation shall provide for the perpetual care of the Serpent Mound and upon the further condition that the grantee corporation shall keep the Serpent Mound Park as a free public park forever, and the non-fulfillment or breach of said conditions or either of them shall work a forfeiture of the estate hereby conveyed and revest the same in the grantor and its successors. And upon the further conditions that the grantee Society shall place and maintain in the park a suitable monument or tablet upon which shall be inscribed the record of the preservation of the Serpent Mound and the transfer of the property to the State Society." This deed was acknowledged on the 8th day of October, 1900. It was recorded in the Recorder's office, West Union, Adams County, November 22, 1900. The Society is therefore to be heartily congratulated upon acquiring this most valuable and unique relic of the Mound Builders. We are of course indebted to Prof. F. W. Putnam for the very satisfactory conclusion of this matter. A description of the mound and the history of its preservation, so far as it is known, will be properly set forth in a future number of the Society's Quarterly. As rapidly as possible arrangements are being made to carry into effect the conditions of the transfer to us.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

In August, 1900, the Society issued in bound form the eighth volume of its annual publications. The material comprising it had previously been issued in Quarterly form — No. 1 (Vol. VIII) for July, 1899; No. 2 for October, 1899; No. 3 for January, 1900, and No. 4 for April, 1900. The table of contents for Vol. VIII need not be repeated here, suffice it to say no more readable or valuable volume has ever been put forth by the Society. Extra editions of portions of that volume were separately printed and met with large circulation. The Quarterlies for July, 1900, October, 1900, and January, 1901 (all to appear in Vol. IX), have also been put before the public.

As evidence of the worth of, and demand for, the publications of the Society, the 74th General Assembly in its appropriation designated the sum of $5,600 "For reprinting Vols. I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII of the Society's Annual Publication;

each member of the 74th General Assembly to be provided with ten copies of each volume, to be delivered under the direction and at the expense of the Society." In compliance with this appropriation those volumes have been reprinted and are now being delivered, properly boxed, to the members of the said legislature at their respective homes. The demand for these books, not only throughout the state of Ohio, but throughout the United States and even in foreign countries, is constantly increasing. This testimony from libraries, societies and individuals is sufficient to more than justify the slight expense the state is at in promoting the dissemination of the literature of the Society.

Great interest is manifested by libraries and students, as is attested by the frequent letters of inquiry which the Secretary receives concerning the forthcoming Archæological History of Ohio, which is being prepared by Mr. Gerard Fowke and to be published by our Society, for which the legislature made special provision. The manuscript is practically complete, and we hope to have the book ready for circulation in the Spring of 1901.

The last Annual Report of the work of the Society in Archæology, as made by W. C. Mills, our Curator, has met with very great favor by the archæologists throughout the country. It has evoked much favorable comment upon the accurate and systematic methods pursued by Mr. Mills, not only in the management of our Museum, but in his explorations and classification and preservation of the findings. As to Mr. Mills's work for the year just past, it speaks for itself in Mr. Mills's Report, which will appear later. Mr. Mills has inaugurated a course of lectures upon anthropology and archæology, which are being given, three each week, during the Winter term at Orton Hall, Ohio State University. A large number of students are availing themselves of the opportunity thus afforded by Mr. Mills for study in those subjects.

TOUR OF PROF. G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

On February 5, 1900, Prof. G. Frederick Wright, one of our Trustees, and whom our Society had selected and the Centennial Commission had accepted, as the Director of the Depart-

ment of Archæology and Ethnology in the (then) proposed Ohio Centennial, accompanied by his son. Fred. B. Wright, started from Oberlin upon a tour around the world in the interest of Archæology, Ethnology and Geology. They were to proceed by way of New Orleans, San Francisco and Honolulu to Tokio, Japan. Thence through Japan, China, Siberia, Russia, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Italy and by way of Europe home. The trip was to occupy about a year, and they are soon expected to return. The members of our society anticipate much pleasure and profit from the accounts which Prof. Wright will be able to make of his very important and instructive tour.

It will be recalled that Prof. G. Frederick Wright, on the evening of the Annual Meeting, February 1, 1900, lectured in the House of Representatives upon the Mound Builders of Ohio, to a very large and appreciative audience, comprising members of the Society, members of the General Assembly and the invited guests.

On the evening of February 26, 1900, in the Board of Trade Auditorium, Prof. J. P. MacLean, Curator and Librarian of the Western Reserve Historical Society, delivered a lecture under the auspices of our Society, upon "The Mound Builders of Ohio." The lecture was illustrated with stereopticon views and was presented to the members of our Society and the invited public, constituting a very large and most appreciative audience. For this and much friendly assistance during the year, we wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Prof. MacLean.

SECRETARIAL JOURNEYINGS.

On April 8 the Secretary visited Cincinnati, made the acquaintance of Dr. Joshua Lindahl, Curator of the Natural History Society of Cincinnati, and inspected the quarters, Museum and Library of that learned and time-honored association. Calls were also made at the rooms of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, of which Mrs. C. B. Lord is the Secretary and Librarian. This Society was founded in 1835 and has a very valuable and well preserved library of some fifteen thousand volumes. Both of these Cincinnati societies occupy

quarters of their own, in each instance representing very valuable property.

On July 12 the day was spent at Norwalk investigating the workings and property of the Firelands Historical Society, of which Hon. Rush M. Sloane is President and Dr. A. Sheldon, Secretary, and Hon. C. H. Gallup, Librarian. The Society has a library of some three thousand books, and issues an annual publication of great interest and value. It has published some thirty volumes altogether, which are now much sought after by public libraries.

During the month of August the Secretary made a somewhat extended tour of visitation to the leading State Historical Societies of the East and Middle West. They were: Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Congressional Library and Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.; American Philosophical Society, The American Catholic Society, The Geographical Society, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, and Pennsylvania Historical Society, all located in Philadelphia, Pa.; also the Museum of Archæology and Paleontology, connected with the University of Pennsylvania; The State Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, Del.; The New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey; The New York Historical Society, New York City, also The Genealogical and Biographical Society of New York; The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; The Peabody Museum, Cambridge; The Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford; Chicago Historical Society, Chicago; Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

This trip and some resulting conclusions pertinent to our Society will be found in the editorial department, October Quarterly (1900) of our Society.

Mr. Warren Cowen, the custodian of Fort Ancient has rendered most excellent service the past year in keeping the property in a clean and attractive condition. Perhaps in no previous time have the embankments and inclosed field space, presented such a neat and well-preserved appearance. The Fort

Ancient Committee of the Trustees paid several visits during the year to the Fort to inspect the work of Mr. Cowen and both, the faithful discharge of his duties and his good judgment have met their commendation.

In conclusion we wish to say that we believe the past year has been the most prosperous and progressive one in the history of the Society, not only as to the work it has actually accomplished, and in the influence it has exerted, but also for the increased creditable reputation it has attained in distant quarters.

Personally the Secretary begs to thank the Trustees and especially the members of the Executive Committee for their uniform kindness and courtesy to him.

Respectfully submitted,

E. O. RANDALL,

Secretary.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *January*, 1901.

REPORT OF TREASURER

FOR YEAR ENDING FEBRUARY FIRST, 1901.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand January 1st, 1900	$ 750 07
Life memberships	672 50
Active memberships	94 00
Subscriptions	15 00
Books sold	26 00
Supplies sold	3 77
Refunded by O. S. U	5 87
Interest	71 65
From State Treasurer:	
For current expenses	2,381 77
For care of Fort Ancient	659 34
For field work, etc	1,025 90
For publications	2,315 47
For repair and care of serpent mound	91 10
For reprinting volumes I to VIII	2,000 00
	$10,112 44

DISBURSEMENTS.

Reprinting publications (on account)	$ 2,000 00
Current publications	2,318 47
Job printing	50 70
Lectures	57 00
Museum and library	245 54
Express and freight	98 58
Postage	97 96
Salaries	1,415 00
Trustee and committee expenses	200 90
Field work	1,048 83
Care of Fort Ancient	659 34
Sundry Supplies	24 00
Fire insurance on publication plates	104 00
Membership secretary	105 00
Serpent mound	91 10
Sundries	75 61
To permanent fund	744 15
Balance on hand January 31st, 1901	776 26
	$10,112 44

Respectfully submitted,

S. S. RICKLY, Treasurer.

ILLINOIS
INDIANAPOLIS
COLUMBUS
OHIO
WHEELING
PENN.
CUMBERLAND
MD.
VANDALIA
St LOUIS
THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD
(1806–1852)
Scale of miles
20
60
120
180
220

THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD—THE HISTORIC HIGHWAY OF AMERICA.*

BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

I.

"THE MIDDLE AGE."

> "The middle ages had their wars and agonies, but also their intense delights. Their gold was dashed with blood, but ours is sprinkled with dust. Their life was intermingled with white and purple; ours is one seamless stuff of brown." — RUSKIN.

A person can not live in the American central west and be acquaintance with the generation which greets the new century with feeble hand and dimmed eye without realizing that there has been a time which, compared with to-day, seems as the Middle Ages did to the England to which Ruskin wrote — when "life was intermingled with white and purple."

The western boy, born to a feeble republic-mother with exceeding suffering in those days which "tried men's souls," grew up as all boys grow up. For a long and doubtful period the young west grew slowly and changed appearance gradually. Then, suddenly, it started from its slumbering, and, in two decades, could hardly have been recognized as the infant which, in 1787, looked forward to a precarious and doubtful future. The boy has grown into the man in the century, but the changes of the last half are not, perhaps, so marked as those of the first, when a wilderness was suddenly transformed into a number of imperial commonwealths.

When this west was in its teens and began suddenly outstripping itself, to the marvel of the world, one of the momentous factors in its progress was the building of a great National Road, from the Potomac river to the Mississippi river, by the

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United States Government — a highway seven hundred miles in length, at a cost of seven millions of treasure. This ribbon of road, winding its way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, toward the Mississippi, was one of the most important steps in that movement of national expansion which followed the conquest of the west. It is probably impossible for us to realize fully what it meant to this west when that vanguard of surveyors came down the western slopes of the Alleghanies, hewing a thoroughfare which should, in one generation, bind distant and half-acquainted states together in bonds of common interest, sympathy and ambition. Until that day travelers spoke of "going into" and "coming out of" the west as though it were a Mammoth Cave. Such were the herculean difficulties of travel that it was commonly said, despite the dangers of life in the unconquered land, if pioneers could live to get into the west, nothing could, thereafter, daunt them. The growth and prosperity of the west was impossible, until the dawning of such convictions as those which made the National Road a reality.

But if it meant something to the wilderness of the west, how much more it meant to the east — opening for its possession the richest garden on the planet, the four million square miles in the Mississippi basin. For this same prize two great powers of the old world had yearned and fought. France and England had studded the west with forts, and their arms had been reflected in every stream from Presque Isle to the Holston, but neither of them could conquer the Alleghanies. A century had proven that the west could not be held by water ways. The question, then, was, could it be held by land approaches? The ringing of woodmen's axes, the clinking of surveyors' chains, the rattle of tavern signs and the rumble of stage coach wheels, thundered the answer — Yes!

So patriotic and so thoroughly American is the central west to-day, that it is also difficult to realize by what a slender thread it hung to the fragile republic east of the mountains, during the two decades succeeding the Revolutionary war. The whole world looked upon the east and west as realms distinct as Italy and France, and for the same geographical reason. It looked for a partition of the alleged "United States" among the powers

as confidently as we to-day look for the partition of China, and for identically similar reasons. England and France and Spain had their well defined "spheres of influence," and the populated and flourishing center of the then west, Kentucky, became, and was for a generation, a hotbed of their wily emissaries. Through all those years, when Burr and others "played fast and loose with conspiracy," the loyalty of the west was far less sure than one can easily believe. The building of the National Road was, undoubtedly, one of the influences which secured the west to the Union, and the population which at once poured into the Ohio valley undoubtedly saved the western states in embryo from greater perils, even, than those they had known.

This road, conceived in the brain of Albert Gallatin, took its inception in 1806, when commissioners to report on the project were appointed by President Jefferson. In 1811 the first contract was let for ten miles of the road west of Cumberland, Maryland, which was its eastern terminus. The road was opened to the Ohio river in 1818.

In a moment's time an army of emigrants and pioneers were en route to the west over the great highway, regiment following regiment as the years advanced. Squalid cabins, where the hunter had lived beside the primeval thoroughfare, were pressed into service as taverns. Indian fords, where the water had oft run red with blood in border frays, were spanned with solid bridges. Ancient towns, which had been comparatively unknown to the world, but which were of sufficient commercial magnetism to attract the great road to them, became, on the morrow, cities of consequence in the world. As the century ran into its second and third decades the National Road received an increasingly heterogeneous population. Wagons of all descriptions, from the smallest to the great "mountain ships" which creaked down the mountain sides and groaned off into the setting sun, formed a marvelous frieze upon it. Fast expresses, too realistically perhaps called "shakeguts," tore along through valley and over hill with important messages of state. Here, the broad highway was blocked with herds of cattle trudging eastward to the markets, or westward to the meadow lands beyond the mountains. Gay coaches of four and six horses, whose worthy drivers were

known by name even to the statesmen who were often their passengers, rolled on to the hospitable taverns where the company reveled. At night, along the roadway, gypsy fires flickered in the darkness, where wandering minstrels and jugglers crept to show their art, while in the background crowded traders, hucksters, peddlers, soldiery, showmen and beggars — all picturesque pilgrims on the nation's great highway.

It is a fair question whether our western civilization is more wonderful for the rapidity with which new things under the sun are discovered, or for the rapidity with which it can forget men and things to-day which were indispensable yesterday. The era of the National Road was succeeded in a half a century by that of the railway, and a great thoroughfare, which was the pride and mainstay of a civilization, has almost passed from human recollection. A few ponderous stone bridges and a long line of sorry looking mile-posts mark the famous highway of our middle age from the network of cross-roads which now meet it at every step. Scores of proud towns, which were thriving centres of a transcontinental trade, have dwindled into comparative insignificance, while the clanging of rusty signs on their ancient tavern posts tell, with inexpressible pathos, that

"There hath passed away a glory from the earth."

II.

THE WASHINGTON AND BRADDOCK ROADS.

In considering the rise and fall of the National Road, it is necessary to describe briefly the three great routes from the east to the west which served before its building, and particularly the historic route upon which it was itself built.

It was for the buffalo, carrying a weight of a thousand pounds and capable of covering two hundred miles a day, to mark out the first continental highways of America. The buffalo's needs — change of climate, new feeding grounds and fresher salt licks — demanded thoroughfares. His weight demanded that they should be stable, and his ability to cover great distances, that they should be practicable. But one such course was open for passage for the buffalo, and that on the summits of the hills. From the

hilltops the water was shed most quickly, making that the dryest land; from the hilltops the snows of winter were quickest blown, lessening the dangers of drifted banks and dangerous erosions.

There were three great routes of the buffalo from the seaboard to the central west; first, through northern New York; second, through southern Virginia and Kentucky; third, through northwestern Maryland and southwestern Pennsylvania.

Route one was practically the present course of the New York Central railway. It was the old overland route on the lakes.

Route two ran southwest, through Virginia, between the Alleghanies and Blue Ridge, and turned westward through Cumberland Gap. This old route of the buffaloes was first marked out for white man's use by Daniel Boone, who was engaged in 1774 to mark out a road to lands in Kentucky purchased from the aborigines by the Transylvania Company. This route through the Gap became known as the Wilderness Road. Kentucky took up the matter of improving and guarding the Wilderness Road in 1793, a year after her admission into the Union. The two main thoroughfares of Kentucky were along buffalo "traces"; one, diverging on Rockcastle creek, led to the Blue Grass country, where Lexington was built, (Boone's route); another led to Harrodsburg, Danville and Louisville, and westward to Vincennes and St. Louis on the Mississippi (Logan's route).

Route three was a course from the Potomac to the Ohio river, marked for the first Ohio Company, before the French and Indian War by Nemacolin, a Delaware Indian. It was later the general course of Washington's road and of Braddock's road — the first great road built westward.

Each of these three routes found its terminus on a body of water; the first at Buffalo on Lake Ontario, the second at St. Louis on the Mississippi, the third at Pittsburg on the Ohio. As for the Indians and whites they were merely portage paths. The fact that when men ascended these American streams to the portages, and found there already deeply worn, trails of the buffalo, is interesting evidence that the brute had found the great continental paths of least resistance (least elevation) with marvelous accuracy. This must be judged one of the most wonderful exhibitions of the utilitarianism of animal instinct. If

the proposed great highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific is built, wherever there is need of careful choice of route, it will inevitably follow the general alignment of a buffalo trace.

Each of these three American continental routes were of the utmost importance at one time or another. The first great tide of immigration which set westward went largely over Boone's blazed road through Cumberland Gap. Later the Wilderness Road was eclipsed by the National Road, which served until the mountains were spanned by the railways. The most northerly route, through the state of New York, the least used and known of the three, will probably entirely eclipse its southern rivals in importance in the days to come. This route became well known in the days of lake and land emigrations to the west. Hundreds of pioneers of the Connecticut Western Reserve went up this old route to Buffalo and passed on westward, traveling along the beach of Lake Erie.

The course of the buffalo through Maryland and Pennsylvania to the Ohio is the most historic route in America, and one of the most famous in the world. Undoubtedly the route of the buffalo and Indian were identical, for at least the length of the portage between Cumberland on the Potomac and Brownsville (Redstone Old Fort) on the Monangahela river. This was probably the main traveled path. From it, however, diverged (on the summit of Laurel Hill) what was, undoubtedly, the original buffalo trace, which coursed in a northwesterly direction toward the site of Pittsburg on the Ohio river.

This trace of the buffalo and portage path of the Indian from the headwaters of the Potomac to the headwaters of the Youghiogany had no name of which record has been made, until it took the name of a Delaware Indian, Nemacolin, who first "blazed it" for white man's use. In 1749 a company of Virginia gentlemen received from the King of England a grant of land in the "Ohio country," on condition that they would settle it within seven years. The first two necessary duties of the company were quickly undertaken. Christopher Gist, a reliable mountaineer, was sent into the Ohio valley to pick out the land for the pioneers of the company, and a Captain Michael Cresap, who lived on the upper Potomac, was entrusted with the work of

marking out a road thither — " to lay out and mark a road from Cumberland to Pittsburg."[1] The road to the Ohio had already been laid out for centuries, but it was not "marked." Cresap employed Nemacolin to "blaze" the old route.

Thus at the middle of the eighteenth century, as the curtain of one of the greatest dramas in history was about to rise, a line of gashed trees led into the west, for the possession of which, the two enemies, France and England, were about to transfer their immemorial war to the new continent.

To those who love to look back to beginnings and read great things in small, this line of wounded trees, leading across the first great "divide," into the rich empire of the central west, is worthy of contemplation. Each tree, starred whitely by the Indian's axe, speaks of Saxon conquest and commerce, one and inseparable. In every act in the drama that so quickly followed, this Indian path with its blazed trees lies in the foreground. Over it came the young surveyor Washington, on his way to the haughty St. Pierre, to ask that exceeding formal question why the French were building forts on western territory (which was legally theirs, and to which no people other than the French have ever had a better right!) Then, the trail having been widened, on came Washington's little Virginian army, the first conflict of the war, and the erection of Fort Necessity near the broadened Indian path.[2] Soon after, the route became immortalized by the advent of Braddock's army, which was annihilated upon it. The reader will recall that one of the three plans of the British in the campaign of 1775, in the French and Indian War, was the attempt of General Braddock to capture the French Fort Duquesne, at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, in order to sever the line of French forts from Quebec to Louisiana, and break the "backbone of New France."

This important expedition landed at the port of Alexandria, in Virginia, February 20, 1755. With the same dense ignorance of the continent, which existed in the day when letters were addressed to the "Island of New England," no thought was taken

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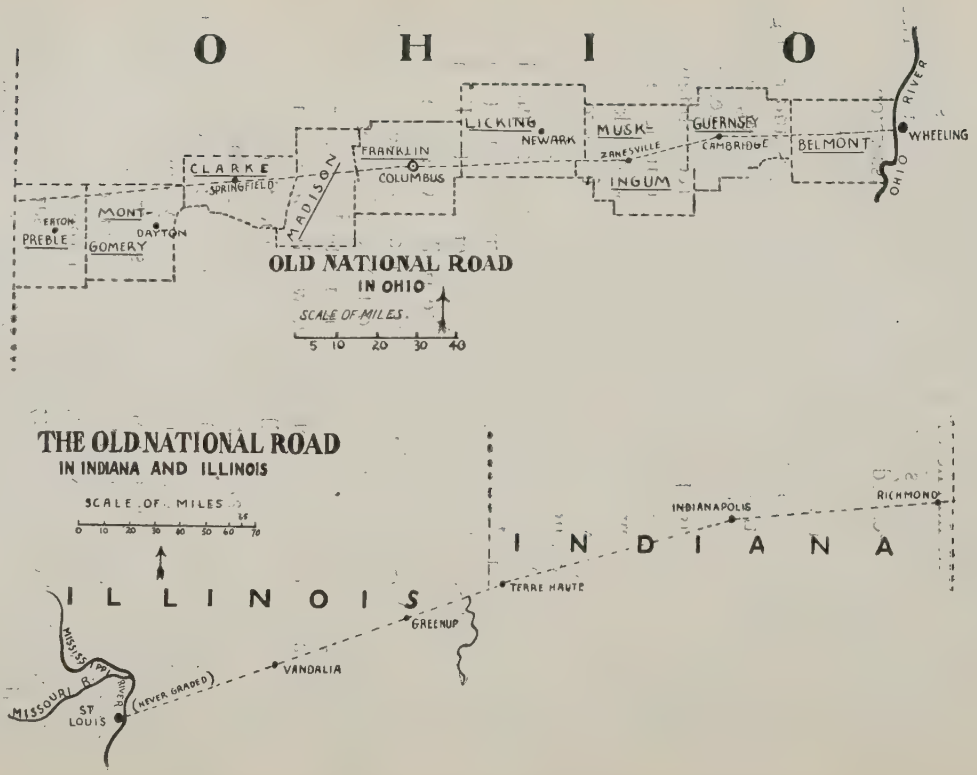
[1] Jacob's *Life of Captain Michael Cresap*, p. 28.

[2] *Washington's Journal, 1754* (Toner), pp. 42, 48, 50, 62, 95.


O H I O
OHIO RIVER
LICKING
NEWARK
MUSK-
INGUM
ZANESVILLE
GUERNSEY
CAMBRIDGE
BELMONT
WHEELING
CLARKE
SPRINGFIELD
MADISON
FRANKLIN
COLUMBUS
ERTON
PREBLE
MONT-
GOMERY
DAYTON
OLD NATIONAL ROAD
IN OHIO
SCALE OF MILES.
5 10 20 30 40
THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD
IN INDIANA AND ILLINOIS
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
INDIANAPOLIS
RICHMOND
I N D I A N A
TERRE HAUTE
I L L I N O I S
GREENUP
MISSISSIPPI R.
VANDALIA
MISSOURI R.
ST LOUIS
(NEVER GRADED)

as to how this army was to march through the dense wilderness to the fort it was to capture. The port of debarkation, which settled, necessarily, the matter of route, was decided upon, like everything else, with little knowledge of the herculean task to be accomplished.[3] The road question was left to the colonies through which the army was to march, and the first that Governor Morris of Pennsylvania knew of Braddock's need of a road was four days after the landing at Alexandria, instead of four months before, as should have been the case.

On the twenty-fourth of February he received a letter from Braddock's Deputy Quartermaster General, Sir John St. Clair, urging him to "open a road toward the head of Youghheagang or any other way that is nearer to the French forts."[4] Morris immediately replied that there was no "wagon road" but only a "horse path" through his colony by way of Carlisle to the Ohio. But by the twelfth of the next month, Morris was empowered by his colony to appoint a commission to open a road "through Carlisle and Shippensburg to the Yoijogain, and to the camp at Will Creek."[5] In the meantime Braddock's army had passed by various courses to the headwaters of the Potomac, to Fort Cumberland, the eastern terminus of the path blazed by Nemacolin and widened by Washington. The commissioners appointed by Governor Morris had "run their road to the Yoijogain" and came home by way of Fort Cumberland without "running" the road thither.[6] Here they found St. Clair raging over the alleged dilatory and unpatriotic policy of Pennsylvania. St. Clair immediately sent a party forward to "find a road from there (Fort Cumberland) to the point on the Youghiogany, which the road being built by Pennsylvania would strike."[7] No road was found

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[3] Cf. Woodrow Wilson's *"George Washington,"* p. 85.

[4] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records.* Vol. VI, pp. 300, 378.

[5] Idem Vol. VI, p. 318.

[6] *"Pennsylvania Magazine of History,"* Vol. IX, p. 7.

[7] From Ormes' Journal it would seem that Braddock always intended to march by way of Washington's road; for he says Morris was asked to build a road that would "fall into his road at the great meadows, or at the Yoxhio Geni" which would serve for reinforcements and convoys. — Orme's Journal in *"History of Braddock's Expedition,"* p. 315.

and the alternative of following the old route of Washington was all that was left.

Thus it happened that the historic trail, made famous by Washington's first expedition and battle in the Ohio valley, became the course of Braddock's ill-starred army. On the thirtieth of May, having abandoned all idea of making a new road, Sir John St. Clair, set out from Fort Cumberland with a body of six hundred choppers to widen and improve Washington's road. Behind it, often within sound of the axes, the van of the army daily encamped.[8] Indian trails were only wide enough for but a single traveler. The path, though widened for hauling Washington's swivels, would not have answered the needs of Braddock's army. For this army, a roadway, averaging probably twelve feet in width, was cut, over which the guns and wagons were hauled with exceeding difficulty.[9]

It has been a matter of interest to the writer to know how largely the Indian trail became the identical course of Braddock's Road. It is more than probable that the two courses were generally identical. In Mr. Atkinson's most valuable study of Braddock's route we read: "For reasons not easy to divine the route across Wills mountain * * * was selected."[10] Such evidences as this, that the road followed the invariable laws of Indian trails, is the strongest circumstantial proof that can be asked. "Steep rugged hills were to be clomb," wrote one who followed the army, "headlong declivities to be descended, down which the cannon and wagons were lowered with blocks and tackle."

On into the Alleghanies the little army marched through

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[8] *"History of Braddock's Expedition,"* p. 355

[9] Idem p. 203.

[10] Atkinson's "Braddock's Route to the Battle of the Monongahela," *Olden Time* Vol. II, p. 544.

"There was but one practicable passage-way across the land for either beast or man, and that, on the summits of the hills. Here on the hilltops, mounting on the longest ascending ridges, lay the tawny paths of the buffalo and the Indian. They were not only highways, they were the highest ways, and chosen for the best of reasons." — *Red Men's Roads,"* p. 8.

the narrow aisle freshly hewn each day, unmindful of its doom There is something doubly tragic in Braddock's defeat. The army had undergone such exhaustive trials and was so near the goal when it was suddenly swept by the lurking blast of fame!

The army followed the Indian trail until after the sixteenth encampment. On the morning of the seventh of July, Braddock "left the Indian track which he had followed so long,"[11] and started for the fort in more direct line across country. Arriving at Turtle Creek, he gave up the attempt and turned back to the Monongahela and the death trap. Braddock's Road was completed, full twelve feet wide, to the northern bank of the Monongahela, where the city of Braddock, Pennsylvania, now stands. It was rough, winding swath of a road mowed by British grit, ending at a slaughter pen and charnel ground, only seven miles from Fort Duquesne.

III.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION.

For three score years Braddock's Road answered all the imperative needs of modern travel, though the journey over it, at most seasons, was a rough experience.[12] During the winter the road was practically impassable.[13]

But with the growing importance of Pittsburg, the subject of roads received more and more attention. As early as 1769 a warrant was issued for the survey of the Manor of Pittsburg, which embraced 5766 acres. In this warrant an allowance of six per cent. was made for roads.[14] Six years later, or the first

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[11] *History of Braddock's Expedition* pp. 203, 351.

[12] An obituary notice which has come into the possession of the writer dated 1796, reads: "Alligany County, Marriland July the 14th 1796 died John P. Allen at the house of John Simkins at atherwayes bear camplain broaddags old road half way between fort Cumberland & Union town."

[13] Colonel Brodhead, commanding at Fort Pitt, wrote Richard Peters: "The great Depth of Snow upon the Alleghany and Laurel Hills have prevented our Getting every kind of Stores, nor do I expect to get any now until the latter End of April." — "*Pennsylvania Archives*" Vol. VIII, p. 120.

[14] Craig's "*History of Pittsburg*," p. 104.

year of the Revolutionary War, court met at Pittsburg, and viewers were appointed to report on a large number of roads, in the construction of which all males between the ages of sixteen and forty-five, living within three miles of the road, were required to work under the supervision of the commissioners. One of these roads became, nearly half a century later, incorporated in the National Road.[15]

The licensing of taverns by Youghiogheny county in 1778, and of ferries about the same time, indicate the opening and use of roads. Within ten years, the post from New York to Pittsburg was established over the treacherous mountain road.[16] In 1794 the Pittsburg postoffice was established, with mails from Philadelphia once in two weeks.[17]

Through all these years, the contest for the west was being waged. The armies of the United States, after many defeats, had won their final victory, and at Greenville, in 1795, General Anthony Wayne wrung, from the disconcerted allied Indian nations, a treaty, which secured to the whites the Ohio country. During these years, a stream of pioneers had been flowing westward; the current dividing at Fort Cumberland. Hundreds had wended their tedious way over Braddock's Road to the Youghiogany and passed down by water to Kentucky, but thousands had journeyed south over Boone's Wilderness Road, which had been blazed through Cumberland Gap in 1775. All that was needed to turn the whole current toward the Ohio was a good thoroughfare. When would it be built? Who would build it? These

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[15] *History of Washington County*, Pennsylvania, pp. 20–22. Cf. *The Old Pike*, p. 244.

[16] *Pittsburg Gazette* of September 30, 1788.

[17] Craig's *"History of Pittsburg,"* p. 226. The mail route established at this time had its destination at Louisville, Kentucky, and came to Pittsburg over the road opened by Governor Morris through Pennsylvania via Bedford, Pittsburg, Limestone (by Ohio river) Paris, Lexington, Frankfort, Harrodsburg, Danville, Bardstown to Louisville. It is interesting to note that mail for the settlements at the end of the Wilderness Road (Kentucky) always came westward over the Pennsylvania roads. Mr. James Lane Allen has unfortunately confounded the Wilderness Road and the Old National Road in his delightful volume, *In the Blue Grass Country* p.—.

were the questions that were being asked, when the eighteenth century closed.

With the nineteenth century came the answer. The thousands of people who had gone, by one way or another, into the trans-Ohio country soon demanded statehood. The creation of the state of Ohio is directly responsible for the building of the National Road. In an act passed by Congress April 30, 1802, to enable the people of Ohio to form a state government and for admission into the Union, section seven contained this provision:

> "That one-twentieth of the net proceeds of the lands lying within said State sold by Congress shall be applied to the laying out and making public roads leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic, to the Ohio, to the said state, and through the same, such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several states through which the roads shall pass."[18]

Another law passed March 3 of the following year, appropriated the three per cent. of the five to laying out roads within the state of Ohio, and the remaining two per cent. for laying out and making roads from the navigable waters, emptying into the Atlantic, to the river Ohio to the said state.[19]

A committee, appointed to review the question, reported to the Senate December 19, 1805. At that time, the sale of land from July, 1802, to September 30, 1805, had amounted to $632,604.27, of which two per cent., $12,652, was available for a road to Ohio. This sum was rapidly increasing. Of the routes across the mountains, the committee studied none of those north of Philadelphia, or south of Richmond. Between these points five courses were considered:

1. Philadelphia — Ohio river (between Steubenville and Mouth of Grave Creek) ..... 314 miles.
2. Baltimore — Ohio river (between Steubenville and Mouth of Grave Creek) ..... 275 miles.

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[18] *United States at Large*, Vol. II, p. 173.
[19] *United States at Large*, Vol. II, p. 226.

3. Washington — Ohio river (between Steubenville and Mouth of Grave Creek) ..... 275 miles.
4. Richmond ..... 317 miles.
5. Baltimore–Brownsville ..... 218 miles.

There were really but two courses to consider, those which have already been described as the Wilderness Road and Braddock's Road. The former led through a thinly populated part of the country and did not answer the prescribed condition, that of striking the Ohio river at a point contiguous to the state of Ohio. Consequently, in the report submitted by the committee we read as follows:

> "Therefore the committee have thought it expedient to recommend the laying out and making a road from Cumberland, on the northerly bank of the Potomac, and within the state of Maryland, to the Ohio river, at the most convenient place on the easterly bank of said river, opposite to Steubenville, and the mouth of Grave Creek, which empties into said river, Ohio, a little below Wheeling in Virginia. This route will meet and accommodate roads from Baltimore and the District of Columbia; it will cross the Monongahela at or near Brownsville, sometimes called Redstone, where the advantage of boating can be taken; and from the point where it will probably intersect the river Ohio, there are now roads, or they can easily be made over feasible and proper ground, to and through the principal population of the state of Ohio."[20]

Immediately the following act of Congress was passed, authorizing the laying out and making of the National Road:

AN ACT TO REGULATE THE LAYING OUT AND MAKING A ROAD FROM CUMBERLAND, IN THE STATE OF MARYLAND, TO THE STATE OF OHIO.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assem-*

[20] *Senate Reports*, 9th Cong., Sess., Rep., No. 195.

bled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, three discreet and disinterested citizens of the United States, to lay out a road from Cumberland, or a point on the northern bank of the river Potomac, in the state of Maryland, between Cumberland and the place where the main road leading from Gwynn's to Winchester, in Virginia, crosses the river, to the state of Ohio; whose duty it shall be, as soon as may be, after their appointment, to repair to Cumberland aforesaid, and view the ground, from the points on the river Potomac hereinbefore designated to the river Ohio; and to lay out in such direction as they shall judge, under all circumstances the most proper, a road from thence to the river Ohio, to strike the same at the most convenient place, between a point on its eastern bank, opposite to the northern boundary of Steubenville, in said state of Ohio, and the mouth of Grave Creek, which empties into the said river a little below Wheeling, in Virginia.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the aforesaid road shall be laid out four rods in width, and designated on each side by a plain and distinguishable mark on a tree, or by the erection of a stake or monument sufficiently conspicuous, in every quarter of a mile of the distance at least, where the road pursues a straight course so far or further, and on each side, at every point where an angle occurs in its course.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That the commissioners shall, as soon as may be, after they have laid out said road, as aforesaid, present to the President an accurate plan of the same, with its several courses and distances, accompanied by a written report of their proceedings, describing the marks and monuments by which the road is designated, and the face of the country over which it passes, and pointing out the particular parts which they shall judge require the most and immediate attention and amelioration, and the probable expense of making the same possible in the most difficult parts, and through the whole distance; designating the state or states through which said road has been laid out, and the length of the several parts which are laid out on new ground, as well as the length of those parts laid out on the road now traveled. Which report the President is hereby

authorized to accept or reject, in the whole or in part. If he accepts, he is hereby further authorized and requested to pursue such measures, as in his opinion shall be proper, to obtain consent for making the road, of the state or states through which the same has been laid out. Which consent being obtained, he is further authorized to take prompt and effectual measures to cause said road to be made through the whole distance, or in any part or parts of the same as he shall judge most conducive to the public good, having reference to the sum appropriated for the purpose.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That all parts of the road which the President shall direct to be made, in case the trees are standing, shall be cleared the whole width of four rods; and the road shall be raised in the middle of the carriageway with stone, earth, or gravel or sand, or a combination of some or all of them, leaving or making, as the case may be, a ditch or water course on each side and contiguous to said carriage-way, and in no instance shall there be an elevation in said road, when finished, greater than an angle of five degrees with the horizon. But the manner of making said road, in every other particular, is left to the direction of the President.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That said commissioners shall each receive four dollars per day, while employed as aforesaid, in full for their compensation, including all expenses. And they are hereby authorized to employ one surveyor, two chainmen and one marker, for whose faithfulness and accuracy they, the said commissioners, shall be responsible, to attend them in laying out said road, who shall receive in full satisfaction for their wages, including all expenses, the surveyor, three dollars per day, and each chainman and marker, one dollar per day, while they shall be employed in said business, of which fact a certificate signed by said commissioners shall be deemed sufficient evidence.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That the sum of thirty thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to defray the expenses of laying out and making said road. And the President is hereby authorized to draw, from time to time, on the treasury for such parts, or at any one time, for the whole of said sum, as he shall judge the service requires. Which sum

of thirty thousand dollars shall be paid, first, out of the fund of two per cent. reserved for laying out and making roads to the state of Ohio, and by virtue of the seventh section of an act passed on the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and two, entitled, "An act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the river Ohio to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes." Three per cent. of the appropriation contained in said seventh section being directed by a subsequent law to the laying out, opening and making roads within the said state of Ohio; and secondly, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, chargeable upon, and reimbursable at the treasury by said fund of two per cent. as the same shall accrue.

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That the President be, and he is hereby requested, to cause to be laid before Congress, as soon as convenience will permit, after the commencement of each session, a statement of the proceedings under this act, that Congress may be enabled to adapt such further measures as may from time to time be proper under existing circumstances.

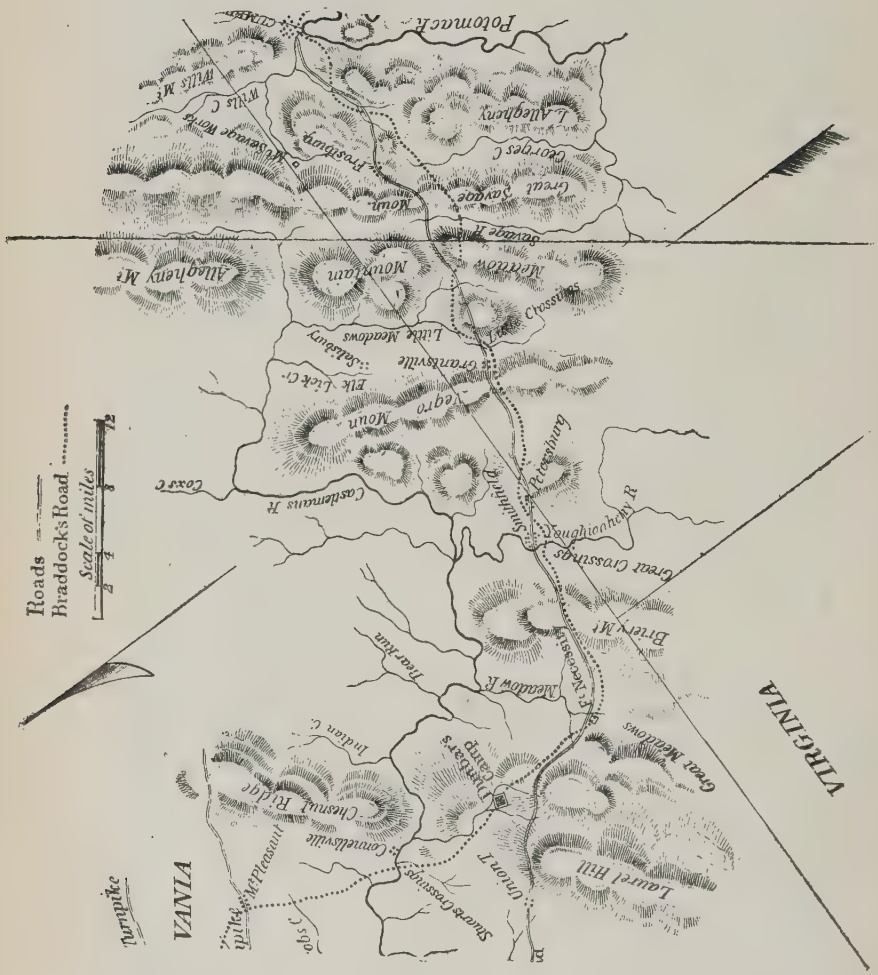
Approved March 29, 1806.

Th. Jefferson.

In execution of this act President Jefferson appointed Thomas Moore of Maryland, Joseph Kerr of Ohio, and Eli Williams of Maryland commissioners to lay out the National Road. Their first report was presented December 30, 1806. It is a document of great importance in the historical development of road building on this continent, throwing, as it does, many interesting side lights on the great task which confronted the builders of our first national highway.[21]

The suggestion contained in the act of Congress, that the road might follow, in part, the previous route across the mountains, was undoubtedly taken to mean, that so far as possible, this rule should guide the commissioners in their task. Starting

[21] Appendix No. 1.



MIDDLETON'S MAP OF BRADDOCK'S AND THE NATIONAL ROAD IN PENNSYLVANIA.

from Cumberland the general alignment of Braddock's Road was pursued, until the point was reached where the old thoroughfare left the old portage trail, on the summit of Laurel Hill. The course was then laid straight toward Brownsville (Redstone Old Fort) probably along the general alignment of the old Indian portage path, and an earlier road. From Brownsville to Washington was an old road, possibly the course of the Indian trail. Albert Gallatin, father of the road, was at this time Secretary of the Treasury, and property holder in Pennsylvania near the probable route of the National Road. He was accused of attempting to bring the road near his lands. Mr. Gallatin immediately wrote to the President asking him to decide the matter of route between Brownsville and the Ohio river. Mr. Gallatin wrote to Mr. David Shriver, the Superintendent of the National Road, as follows: "You are authorized to employ a surveyor to view the most proper road from Brownsville to Washington in Pennsylvania, and thence to examine the routes to Charleston, Steubenville, mouth of Short Creek and Wheeling and report a correct statement of distance and ground on each. If the county road now established from Brownsville to Washington is not objectionable, it would be eligible to prefer it to any other which might be substituted."[22] The National Road between Uniontown and Brownsville followed a road laid out before the Revolutionary War.[23]

As has already been suggested, there was a dispute concerning the point where the road would touch the Ohio river. The rivalry was most intense between Wheeling and Steubenville. Wheeling won through the influence of Henry Clay, to whom a monument was erected at a later date near the town on the old road.

On the fifteenth of January, 1808, the commissioners ren-

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[22] *"The Old Pike,"* p. 373.

[23] The country south of the Ohio from Steubenville and Wheeling was historic ground, the first paths being well-worn routes of travel long before the coming of the National Road. The main primeval thoroughfares were the Monongahela trail and Girty's old trail southward from Girty's Point on the Ohio River. See *"Red Men's Roads"* p. 17; also DeHass' *History of West Virginia*, p. 342, note 1.

dered a second report in which it appears that timber and brush had already been cleared from the proposed route and that contracts were already let for the first ten miles west of Cumberland.[24]

Permission to build the road was gained of each of the states through which it passed,[25] Pennsylvania making the condition that the route of the road should pass through the towns of Washington and Uniontown.

IV.

POTOMAC TO THE OHIO.

The second report of the commissioners, as noted, assured Congress that the preliminary work on the great road had begun. This was in 1808, and contracts had been made for clearing the surveyed route of brush and trees. This indicates that the National Road was not built on the bed of Braddock's road. Though the two crossed each other frequently, as Mr. Middleton's map shows, the commissioners reported that the two roadbeds were not identical in the aggregate for more than one mile in the entire distance.[26]

Contracts for the first ten miles west of Cumberland were signed April 16 and May 11, 1811. They were completed in the following year. Contracts were let in 1812, 1813, 1815. In 1817 contracts brought the road to Uniontown. In the same year a contract was let from a point near Washington to the

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[24] Appendix No. 2.

[25] Pennsylvania April 9, 1807; Maryland 1806, Chap. IX, "An act vesting certain powers in the President of the United States." Ohio, 1824, XXII, 87, "An act to concede to the government of the United States the power of extending the Cumberland Road through this state." Chase, p. 1961.

[26] Braddock's Road and the National Road were originally one as they left Cumberland. The course met again at Little Meadows near Tomlinson's Tavern and again at eastern foot of Negro mountain. The courses were identical at the Old Flenniken tavern two miles west of Smithfield (Big Crossing) and on summit of Laurel Hill, at which point Braddock's Road swung off northwesterly toward Pittsburg, following the old buffalo trail toward the junction of the Ohio and Alleghany, and the National Road continued westward along the course of the old portage path toward Wheeling on the Ohio.

Virginia line. In the following year United States mail coaches were running from Washington, D. C., to Wheeling, and 1818 is considered the year of the opening of the road to the Ohio river.

The cost of the eastern division of the road was enormous. The commissioners in their report to Congress estimated the cost at $6,000 per mile, not including bridges. The cost of the road from Cumberland to Uniontown was $9,745 per mile. The cost of the entire division east of the Ohio river was about $13,000 per mile. Too liberal contracts was given as the reason for the greater proportional expense between Uniontown and Wheeling.

An idea of the difficulties of putting the great road through the Pennsylvania mountain ranges can be gained from a table of heights (above Cumberland) which the road crossed, given by the commissioners in their report of 1808:

	FEET.
Summit of Savage mountain	2,022–24
Savage river	1,741– 6
Summit Little Savage mountain	1,900– 4
Branch Pine Run, first western water	1,699– 9
Summit of Red Hill (afterward called Shades of Death)	1,914– 3
Summit Little Meadow mountain	2,026–16
Little Youghiogeny river	1,322– 6
East Fork of Shade Run	1,558–92
Summit of Negro mountain, highest point	2,328–12
Middle branch of White's creek, at the west foot of Negro mountain	1,360– 5
White's creek	1,195– 5
Big Youghiogheny	645– 5
Summit of ridge between Youghiogheny river and Beaver waters.	1,514– 5
Beaver Run	1,123– 8
Summit of Laurel Hill	1,550–16
Court House of Uniontown	274–65
A point ten feet above the surface of low water in the Monongahela river, at the mouth of Dunlap's creek	119–26

A flood of traffic swept over the great highway immediately upon its completion. As early as the year 1822 it is recorded that a single one of the five commission houses at Wheeling unloaded 1,081 wagons, averaging 3,500 pounds each, and paid for freightage of goods the sum of $90,000.

But the road was hardly completed when a spectre of constitutional cavil arose, threatening its existence. In 1822 a bill was passed by Congress looking toward the preservation and repair of the newly built road. It should be stated that the road bed, though completed in one sense, was not in condition to be used extensively unless continually repaired. In many places only a single layer of broken stone had been laid, and, with the volume of traffic which was daily passing over it, the road did not promise to remain in good condition. In order to secure funds for the constant repairs necessary, this bill ordered the establishment of turnpikes with gates and tolls. The bill was immediately vetoed by President Monroe on the ground that Congress, according to his interpretation of the constitution, did not have the power to pass such a sweeping measure of internal improvement.

The President based his conclusion upon the following grounds, stated in a special message to Congress, dated May 4, 1822:

> "A power to establish turnpikes, with gates and tolls and to enforce the collection of the tolls by penalties, implies a power to adopt and execute a complete system of internal improvements. A right to impose duties to be paid by all persons passing a certain road, and on horses and carriages, as is done by this bill, involves the right to take the land from the proprietor on a valuation, and to pass laws for the protection of the road from injuries; and if it exist, as to one road, it exists as to any other, and to as many roads as Congress may think proper to establish. A right to legislate for the others. It is a complete right of jurisdiction and sovereignty for all the purposes of internal improvement, and not merely the right of applying money under the power vested in Congress to make appropriations (under which power, with the consent of the states through which the road passes, the work was originally commenced, and has been so far executed). I am of the opinion that Congress does not possess this power — that the states individually cannot

grant it; for, although they may assent to the appropriation of money within their limits for such purposes, they can grant no power of jurisdiction of sovereignty, by special compacts with the United States. This power can be granted only by an amendment to the constitution, and in the mode prescribed by it. If the power exist, it must be either because it has been specially granted to the United States, or that it is incidental to some power, which has been specifically granted. It has never been contended that the power was specifically granted. It is claimed only as being incidental to some one or more of the powers which are specifically granted.

The following are the powers from which it is said to be derived: (1) From the right to establish post offices and post roads; (2) from the right to declare war; (3) to regulate commerce; (4) to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and the general welfare; (5) from the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution all the powers vested by the constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof; (6) and lastly from the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States. According to my judgment it cannot be derived from either of these powers, nor from all of them united, and in consequence it does not exist."[27]

During the early years of this century, the subject of internal improvements relative to the building of roads and canals was one of the foremost political questions of the day. No sooner were the debts of the Revolutionary war paid, and a surplus accumulated, than a systematic improvement of the country was undertaken. The Old National Road was but one of several roads projected by general government. Through the administrations of Adams, Jefferson and Madison large

[27] Richardson (Ed) *Message and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, p. 142. (May 4, 1822.)

appropriations had been made for numerous improvements. The bill authorizing the levying of tolls was a step too far, as President Monroe held that it was one thing to make appropriations for public improvements, but an entirely different thing to assume jurisdiction and sovereignty over the land whereon those improvements were made. This was one of the great public questions in the first half of the present century. President Jackson's course was not very consistent. Before his election he voted for internal improvements, even advocating subscriptions by the government to the stock of private canal companies, and the formation of roads beginning and ending within the limits of certain states. In his message at the opening of the first Congress after his accession, he suggested the division of the surplus revenue among the states, as a substitute for the promotion of internal improvements by the general government, attempting a limitation and distinction too difficult and important to be settled and acted upon on the judgment of one man, namely, the distinction between general and local objects.

"The pleas of the advocates of internal improvement," wrote a contemporary authority of high standing on economic questions, "are these: That very extensive public works, designed for the benefit of the whole Union, and carried through vast portions of its area, must be accomplished. That an object so essential ought not to be left at the mercy of such an accident as the cordial agreement of the requisite number of states, to carry such works forward to their completion; that the surplus funds accruing from the whole nation cannot be well employed as in promoting works in which the whole nation will be benefitted; and that as the interests of the majority have hitherto upheld Congress in the use of this power, it may be assumed to be the will of the majority that Congress should continue to exercise it.

The answer is that it is inexpedient to put a vast and increasing patronage into the hands of the general government; that only a very superficial knowledge can be looked for in members of Congress as to the necessity or value of works proposed to be instituted in any parts of the states, from the impossibility or undesirableness of equalizing the amount of appropriation made to each; that useless works would be proposed from the spirit

of competition or individual interest; and that corruption, co-extensive with the increase of power, would deprave the functions of the general government." * * *

* * * "To an impartial observer it appears that Congress has no constitutional right to devote the public funds to internal improvements, at its own unrestricted will and pleasure; that the permitted usurpation of the power for so long a time indicates that some degree of such power in the hands of the general government is desirable and necessary; that such power should be granted through an amendment of the constitution, by the methods therein provided; that, in the meantime, it is perilous that the instrument should be strained for the support of any function, however desirable its exercise may be."

"In case of the proposed addition being made to the constitution, arrangements will, of course, be entered into for the determining the principles by which general are to be distinguished from local objects or whether such distinction can, on any principle, be fixed; for testing the utility of proposed objects; for checking extravagant expenditure, jobbing and corrupt patronage; in short, the powers of Congress will be specified, here as in other matters, by express permission and prohibition."[28]

In 1824, however, President Monroe found an excuse to sign a bill which was very similar to that vetoed in 1822, and the great road, whose fate had hung for two years in the balance, received needed appropriations. The travel over the road in the first decade after its completion was heavy and before a decade had passed the road-bed was in wretched condition. It was the plan of the friends of the road, when they realized that no revenue could be raised by means of tolls by the government, to have the road placed in a state of good repair by the government and then turned over to the several states through which it passed.[29]

The liberality of the government, at this juncture, in instituting thorough repairs on the road was an act worthy of the road's service and destiny.

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[28] Harriet Martineau's "*Society in America*" Vol. II, pp. 31, 35.

[29] See Appropriation No. 27, p. 143.

In order to insure efficiency and permanency these repairs[30] were made on the Macadam system; that is to say, the pavement of the old road was entirely broken up, and the stones removed from the road; the bed was then raked smooth, and made nearly flat, having a raise of not more than three inches from the side to the centre, in a road thirty feet wide; the ditches on each side of the road, and the drains leading from them, were so constructed that the water could not stand at a higher level than eighteen inches below the lowest part of the surface of the road; and, in all cases, when it was practicable, the drains were adjusted in such manner as to lead the water entirely from the side ditches. The culverts were cleared out, and so adjusted as to allow the free passage of all water that tended to cross the road.

Having thus formed the bed of the road, cleaned out the ditches and culverts, and adjusted the side drains, the stone was reduced to a size not exceeding four ounces in weight, was spread on with shovels, and raked smooth. The old material was used when it was of sufficient hardness, and no clay or sand was allowed to be mixed with the stone.

In replacing the covering of stone, it was found best to lay it on in strata of about three inches thick, admitting the travel for a short interval on each layer, and interposing such obstructions from time to time as would insure an equal travel over every portion of the road; care being taken to keep persons in constant attendance to rake the surface when it became uneven by the action of wheels of carriages. In those parts of the road, if any, where materials of good quality could be obtained for the road in sufficient quantity to afford a course of six inches, new stone was procured to make up the deficiency to that thickness; but it was considered unnecessary, in any part, to put on a covering of more than nine inches. None but limestone, flint or granite, were used for the covering, if practicable; and no covering was placed upon the bed of the road till it had become well compacted and thoroughly dried. At proper intervals, on the slopes of hills,

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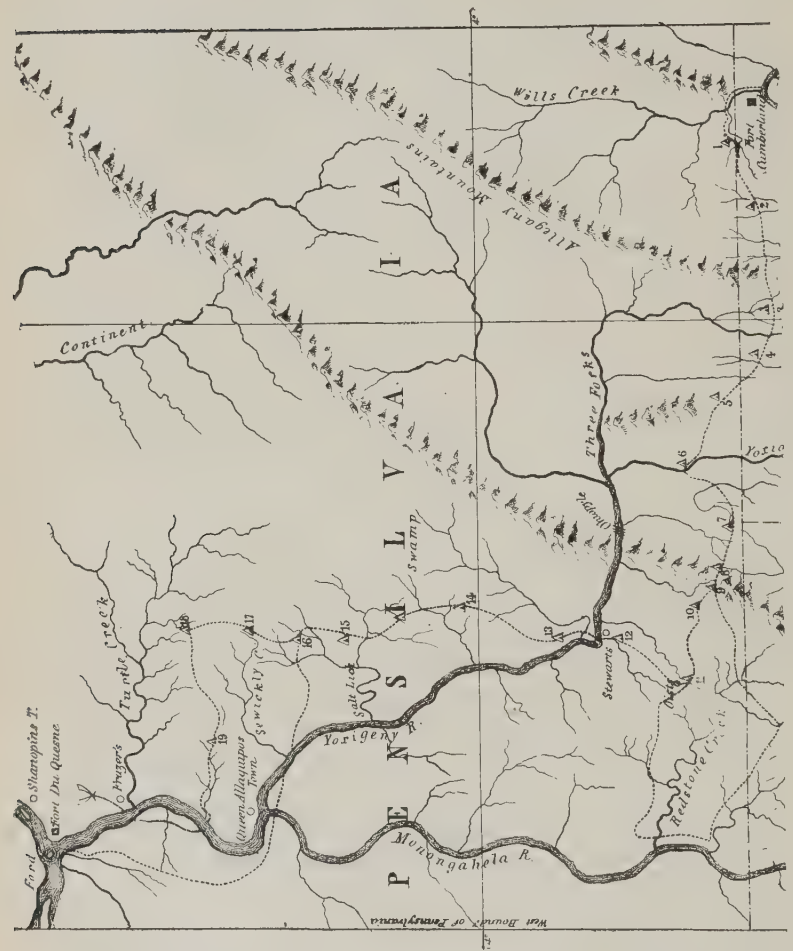
[30] For specimen advertisement for repairs on National Road see Appendix No. 4.

drains or paved catch-waters were made across the road, whenever the cost of constructing culverts rendered their use inexpedient. These catch-waters were made with a gradual curvature, so as to give no jolts to the wheels of carriages passing over them; but whenever the expense justified the introduction of culverts, they were used in preference, and in all cases where the water crossed the road, either in catch-waters or through culverts, sufficient pavements and overfalls were constructed to provide against the possibility of the road or banks being washed away by it.

The masonry of the bridges, culverts and side-walls were ordered to be repaired, whenever required, in a substantial manner, and care was taken that the mortar used was of good quality, without admixture of raw clay. All the masonry was well pointed with hydraulic mortar, and in no case was the pointing allowed to be put on after the middle of October. All masonry finished after this time was well covered, and pointed early in the spring. Care was taken, also, to provide means for carrying off the water from the bases of walls, to prevent the action of frost on their foundations; and it was considered highly important that all foundations in masonry should be well pointed with hydraulic mortar to a depth of eighteen inches below the surface of the ground.

By the year 1818 travel over the first great road across the Alleghany mountains into the Ohio basin had begun. The subsequent history of this highway and all the vicissitudes through which it has passed, has, in a measure, perhaps, dimmed the lustre of its early pride. The subject of transportation has undergone such marvelous changes in these eighty years since the National Road was opened, that we are apt to forget the strength of the patriotism which made that road a reality. But compare it with the roadways built before it to accomplish similar ends, and the greatness of the undertaking can be appreciated. Over the beginnings of great historical movements there often hangs a cloud of obscurity. Over this heroic attempt, to make a feeble republic strong through unity, there is no obscurity. America won the west from England as England had won it from France — by conquest. Brave men were found who did what neither England nor France did do, settle the wilderness and



BRADDOCK'S ROAD AND ENCAMPMENTS.

begin the transformation of it. Large colonies of hardy men and women had gone into the Ohio valley, carrying in their hands the blessed Ordinance and guided by the very star of empire. Old Virginia had given the best of her sons and daughters to the meadow land of *Ken-ta-kee,* who were destined to clinch the republic's title to the Mississippi river. The Old Bay State had given her best blood to found the Old Northwest, at historic Marietta. New Jersey and Connecticut had sent their sons through vast wildernesses to found Cincinnati and Cleveland, names which to-day suggest the best there is in our American state. Without exaggeration, the building of the National Road from the Potomac to the Ohio river was the crowning act of all that had gone before. It embodied the prime idea in the Ordinance of 1787, and it proved that a republic of loyal people could scorn the old European theory that mountains are imperative boundaries of empire.

V.

OHIO TO THE MISSISSIPPI.

The stories of those who knew the road in the west and those who knew it in the east are much alike. It is probable that there was one important distinction—the passenger traffic of the road between the Potomac and Ohio, which gave life on that portion of the road a peculiar flavor, was doubtless much smaller on the western division.

For many years the centre of western population was in the Ohio valley, and good steamers were plying the Ohio when the National Road was first opened. Indeed the road was originally intended for the accommodation of the lower Ohio valley.[31]

[31] The early official correspondence concerning the route of the road shows plainly that it was really built for the benefit of the Chillicothe and Cincinnati settlements, which embraced a large portion of Ohio's population. The opening of river traffic in the first two decades of the century, however, had the effect of throwing the line of the road further northward through the capitals of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Zane's trace, diverging from the National Road at Zanesville, played an important part in the development of southwestern Ohio, becoming the course of the Lancaster and Maysville pike.

Still, as the century grew old and the interior population became considerable, the Ohio division of the road became a crowded thoroughfare. An old stage driver in eastern Ohio remembers when business was such that he and his companion Knights of Rein and Whip never went to bed for twenty nights, and more than a hundred teams might have been met in a score of miles.

When the road was built to Wheeling its greatest mission was accomplished—the portage path across the mountains was completed to a point where river navigation was almost always available. And yet less than half of the road was finished. It now touched the eastern extremity of the great state whose public lands were being sold in order to pay for its building. Westward lay the growing states of Indiana and Illinois, a per cent. of the sale of whose land had already been pledged to the road. Then came another moment when the great work paused and the original ambition of its friends was at hazard.

In 1820 Congress appropriated $141,000 for completing the road from Washington, Pennsylvania, to Wheeling. In the same year $10,000 was appropriated for laying out the road between Wheeling, Virginia, and a point on the left bank of the Mississippi river, between St. Louis and the mouth of the Illinois river. For four years the fate of the road west of the Ohio hung in the balance, during which time, the road was menaced by the spectre of unconstitutionality, already described. But on the third day of March, 1825, a bill was passed by Congress appropriating one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for building the road to Zanesville, Ohio, and the extension of the surveys to the permanent seat of government in Missouri, to pass by the seats of government of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.[32] Two years later $170,000 was appropriated to complete the road to Zanesville, Ohio, and in 1829 an additional appropriation for continuing it westward was made.[33]

It has been noted that the National Road from Cumberland to Wheeling was built on a general alignment of a former thoroughfare of the red men and the pioneers. So with much of the course west of the Ohio. Between Wheeling and Zanesville the

[32] See Appropriation No. 14, p. 141.

[33] See Appropriations Nos. 20 and 21, p. 142.

National Road followed the course of the first road made through Ohio, the celebrated route, marked out, by way of Lancaster and Chillicothe, to Kentucky, by Colonel Ebenezer Zane, and which bore the name of Zane's Trace. This first road built in Ohio was authorized by an act of Congress passed May 17, 1796.[34] This thoroughfare was rendered necessary by the large amount of return traffic from the southwestern Ohio settlements and Kentucky. The vast number of immigrants which, by 1796, had journeyed to Kentucky, needed an overland thoroughfare to Pennsylvania and the east, which afforded a shorter course than the roundabout Wilderness Road. It was easy to descend the Ohio, but a tedious task to return by water, and steam packets were not plying in that day (1796).

A description is left us of this first white man's public highway beyond the Ohio which is interesting in this connection:

> "We came back by Cincinnati, and from there went to the mouth of Soldier's Run, on Brush Creek, seven miles from its mouth * * * we started back to Pennsylvania on horseback, as there was no getting up the river at that day * * * There was one house (Treiber's) on Lick branch five miles from where West Union now is * * * The next house is where Sinking Spring or Middleton is now. The next was at Chillicothe, which was just then commenced. We encamped one night on Massie's Run, say two or three miles from the falls of Paint Creek where the trace crossed that stream. From Chillicothe to Lancaster, the trace then went through Pickaway Plains * * * There was a cabin some three or four miles below the plains and another at their eastern edge, and one or two more between that and Lancaster * * * Here we staid the third night. From Lancaster we went the next day to Zanesville, passing several small beginnings. I recollect no improvement between Zanesville and Wheeling except one

[34] *Private laws of the United States*, May 17, 1796.

small one at the mouth of Indian Wheeling Creek, opposite Wheeling."[35]

This route through Ohio was a well worn road a quarter of a century before the National Road was extended across the Ohio river.

The act of 1825, authorizing the extension of the great road into the state of Ohio, was greeted with intense enthusiasm by the people of the west. The fear that the road would not be continued beyond the Ohio river was generally entertained, and for good reasons. The debate of constitutionality, which had been going on for several years, increased the fear. And yet it would have been breaking faith with the west by the National Government to have failed to continue the road.

The act appropriated $150,000 for an extension of the road from Wheeling to Zanesville, Ohio, and work was immediately undertaken. The Ohio was by far the greatest body of water which the road crossed, and for many years the passage from Wheeling to the opposite side of the Ohio, Bridgeport, was made a ferry. Later a great bridge, the admiration of the country side, was erected. The road entered Ohio in Belmont county, and, eventually, crossed the state in a due line west, not deviating its course even to touch cities of such importance as Newark or Dayton, although, in the case of the former at least, such a course would have been less expensive than the one pursued. Passing due west the road was built through Belmont, Guernsey, Muskingum, Licking, Franklin, Madison, Clark, Montgomery and Preble counties, a distance of over 300 miles. A larger portion of the National Road which was actually completed lay in Ohio than in all other states through which it passed combined.

The work on the road between Wheeling and Zanesville was begun in 1825-26. Ground was broken with great ceremony opposite the Court House at St. Clairsville, Belmont county, July 4, 1825. An address was given by Mr. Wm. B. Hubbard. The average cost per mile of the road in eastern Ohio was much less than the cost in Pennsylvania, averaging only about $3,400

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[35] "*American Pioneer*," Vol. II, p. 158. Cf. "*Franklinton* (Ohio) *Centennial*," p. 22.

per mile. This included three inch layers of broken stone, masonry bridges and culverts. Large appropriations were made for the road in succeeding years and the work went on from Zanesville, due west to Columbus. The course of the road between Zanesville and Columbus was perhaps the first instance where the road ignored, entirely, the general alignment of a previous road between the same two points. The old road between Zanesville and Columbus went by way of Newark and Granville, a roundabout course, but probably the most practicable, as any one may attest who has traveled over the National Road in the western part of Muskingum county. A long and determined effort was made by citizens of Newark and Granville, than whom there were no more influential in Ohio, to have the new road follow the course of the old, but without effect. Ohio had not, like Pennsylvania, demanded that the road should pass through certain towns. The only direction named by law was that the road should go west on the straightest possible line through the capital of each state.

The course between Zanesville and Columbus was located by the United States Commissioner, Jonathan Knight, Esq., who accompanied by his associates (one of whom was the youthful Joseph E. Johnson) arrived in Columbus, October 5, 1825. Bids for contracts for building the road from Zanesville to Columbus were advertised to be received at the Superintendent's office at Zanesville, from the 23rd to the 30th of June, 1829. The road was fully completed by 1833. The road entered Columbus on Friend (now Main) street. There was great rivalry between the North End and South End over the road's entrance into the city. The matter was compromised by having it enter on Friend street and take its exit on West Broad, traversing High to make the connection.

Concerning the route out of Columbus, the *Ohio State Journal* said:

> "The adopted route leaves Columbus at Broad Street, crosses the Scioto river at the end of that street and on the new wooden bridge erected in 1826 by an individual having a charter from that state. The bridge is not so permanent nor so spacious as could be desired, yet it may answer the intended purposes for several

years to come. Thence the location passes through the village of Franklinton, and across the low grounds to the bluff which is surrounded at a depression formed by a ravine, and at a point nearly in the prolongation in the direction of Broad Street; thence by a small angle, a straight line to the bluffs of Darby creek; to pass the creek and its bluffs some angles were necessary; thence nearly a straight line through Deer Creek Barrens, and across that stream to the dividing grounds, between the Scioto and the Miami waters; thence nearly down to the valley of Beaver Creek."

The preliminary survey westward was completed in 1826 and extended to Indianapolis, Indiana. Bids were advertised for contract west of Columbus in July 1830. During the next seven years the work was pushed on through Madison, Clark, Montgomery and Preble counties and across the Indiana line. Proposals for bids for building the road west of Springfield, Ohio, was advertised for, during August 1837, a condition being that the first eight miles be finished by January 1838. These proposals are interesting to-day. The following is the advertisement for proposal of bids referred to above.

National Road in Ohio.—Notice to contractors.—Proposals will be received by the undersigned, until the 19th of August inst., for clearing and grubbing eight miles of the line of National Road west of this place, from the 55th to the 62nd mile inclusive west of Columbus—the work to be completed on or before the 1st day of January, 1838.

The trees and growth to be entirely cleared away to the distance of 40 feet on each side of the central axis of the road, and all trees impending over that space to be cut down; all stumps and roots to be carefully grubbed out to the distance of 20 feet on each side of the axis, and where occasional high embankments, or spacious side drains may be required, the grubbing is to extend to the distance of 30 feet on each side of the same axis. All the timber, brush, stumps and roots to be entirely removed from the above space of 80 feet in width and

the earth excavated in grubbing, to be thrown back into the hollows formed by removing the stumps and roots.

The proposals will state the price per linear rod or mile, and the offers of competent, or responsible individuals only will be accepted.

Notice is hereby given to the proprietors of the land, on that part of the line of the National Road, lying between Springfield and the Miami river to remove all fences and other barriers now across the line a reasonable time being allowed them to secure that portion of their present crops which may lie upon the location of the road.

G. Dutton,
Lieutenant U. S. Engineers Supt.

National Road Office, Springfield, Ohio.
August 2nd, 1837.[36]

Indianapolis was the centre of National Road operations in Indiana, and from that city the road was built both eastward and westward. The road entered Indiana through Wayne county but was not completed until taken under a charter from the state, by the Wayne County Turnpike Company, and finished in 1850. When Indiana and Illinois received the road from the national government it was not completed, though graded and bridged as far west as Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois.

The National Road was not to Indiana and Illinois what it was to Ohio, for somewhat similar reasons that it was less to Ohio than to Pennsylvania, for the further west it was built the older the century grew, and the newer the means of transportation which were coming rapidly to the front. This was true, even, from the very beginning. The road was hardly a decade old in Pennsylvania, when two canals and a railroad over the portage, offered a rival means of transportation across the state from Harrisburg to Pittsburg.[37] When the road reached Wheeling, Ohio river travel was very much improved, and a large proportion of traffic went down the river by packet. When the road entered

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[36] *Springfield Pioneer*, August 1837; also *Ohio State Journal*, August 8, 1837.

[37] Martineau's *"Society in America.* Vol. I. p. 17.

Indiana, new dreams of internal improvements were underway beside which a turnpike was almost a relic. In 1835-36, Indiana passed an internal improvement bill, authorizing three great canals and a railway.[38] The proposed railway, from the village of Madison on the Ohio river northward to Indianapolis, is a pregnant suggestion of the amount of traffic to Indiana from the east which passed down the Ohio from Wheeling, instead of going overland through Ohio.[39] This was, undoubtedly, mostly passenger traffic, which was very heavy at this time.[40]

But the dawning of a new era in transportation had already been heralded in the national hall of legislation. In 1832 the House Committee on Roads and Canals had discussed in their report the question of the relative cost of various means of intercommunication, including railways. Each report of the committee for the next five years mentioned the same subject, until, in 1836, the matter of substituting a railway for the National Road between Columbus and the Mississippi was very seriously considered.

In that year a House Bill (No. 64) came back from the Senate amended in two particulars, one, authorizing that the appropriations made for Illinois should be confined to grading and bridging only, and should not be construed as implying that Congress had pledged itself to macadamize the road.

The House Committee struck out these amendments and substituted a more sweeping one than any yet suggested in the history of the road. This amendment provided that a railroad be constructed west of Columbus with the money appropriated for a highway. The committee reported, that, after long study of the question, many reasons appeared why the change should be made. It was, they said, stated to the committee by respectable authority, that much of the stone for the masonry and covering for the road east of Columbus had to be transported for considerable distances over bad roads across the adjacent

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[38] Wabash–Erie, Whitewater and Indiana Central Canals and the Madison and Indianapolis railway.

[39] *"Illinois in '37,"* p. 766–7. This was probably passenger and freight traffic as the mails went overland from the very first, until the building of railways. Cf. Note 17.

[40] *Ohio State Journal*, January 8, 1836.

country at very great expense, and that, in its continuance westward through Ohio, this source of expense would be greatly augmented. Nevertheless the compact with the admission of the western states supposed the western termination of the road should be the Mississippi. The estimated expense of the road's extension to Vandalia, Illinois, sixty-five miles east of the Mississippi, amounted to $4,732,622.83, making the total expense of the entire road amount to about ten millions. The committee said it would have been unfaithful to the trust reposed in it, if it had not bestowed much attention upon this matter, and it did not hesitate to ground on a recent report of the Secretary of War, this very important change of the plan of the road. This report of the War Department showed that the distance between Columbus and Vandalia was 334 miles and the estimated cost of completing the road that far would be $4,732,632.83, of which $1,120,320.01 had been expended and $3,547,894.83 remained to be expended in order to finish the road to that extent according to plans then in operation; that after its completion it would require an annual expenditure on the 334 miles of $392,809.71 to keep it in repair, the engineers computing the annual cost of repairs of the portion of the road between Wheeling and Columbus (127 miles) at $99,430.30.

On the other hand the estimated cost of a railway from Columbus to Vandalia on the route of the National Road was $4,280,540.37, and the cost of preservation and repair of such a road, $173,718.25. Thus the computed cost of the railway exceeded that of the turnpike but about 20 per cent., while the annual expense of repairing the former would fall short of more than 56 per cent. In addition to the advantage of reduced cost was that of faster time consumed in transportation, for, assuming, as the committee did, a rate of speed of fifteen miles per hour (which was five miles per hour less than the then customary speed of railway traveling in England on the Liverpool and Manchester railroad, and about the ordinary rate of speed of the American locomotives) it would require only 23 hours for news from Baltimore to reach Columbus, forty-two hours to Indianapolis, fifty-four to Vandalia, and fifty-eight to St. Louis.

BROWNFIELD HOUSE, UNIONTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA.

"S" BRIDGE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

One interesting argument for the substitution of the railway for the National Road was given as follows:

> "When the relation of the general government to the states which it unites is justly regarded; when it is considered it is especially charged with the common defense; that for the attainment of this end and the militia must be combined in time of war with the regular army and the state with the United States troops; that mutual prompt and vigorous concert should mark the efforts of both for the accomplishment of a common end and the safety of all; it seems needless to dwell upon the importance of transmitting intelligence between the state and federal government with the least possible delay and concentrating in a period of common danger their joint efforts with the greatest possible dispatch. It is alike needless to detail the comparative advantages of a railroad and an ordinary turnpike under such circumstances. A few weeks, nay, a very few days, or hours, may determine the issue of a campaign, though happily for the United States their distance from a powerful enemy may limit the contingency of war to destruction short of that by which the events of an hour had involved ruin of an empire."

Despite the weight of argument presented by the house committee their amendment was in turn stricken out, and the bill of 1836 appropriated $600,000 for the National Road, both of the Senate Amendments which the House Committee had stricken out being incorporated in the bill.

VI.

OPERATION AND CONTROL.

The National Road was built by the United States government under the supervision of the War Department. Of its builders, whose names will ever live in the annals of the central west, Brigadier-General Gratiot, Captains Delafield, McKee, Bliss, Bartlett Hartzell, Williams, Colquit and Cass and Lieutenants Mans-

field, Vance and Pickell are best remembered on the eastern division. Nearly all became heroes of the Mexican or Civil wars, McKee falling at Buena Vista, Williams at Monterey, and Mansfield, then Major-general, at Antietam.

Among the best known supervisors in the west were Commissioners C. W. Weaver, G. Dutton and Jonathan Knight.

The road had been built across the Ohio river but a short time, when it was realized that a revenue must be raised for its support from those who traveled upon it. As we have seen, a law was passed in both houses of Congress, in 1824, authorizing the government to erect toll gates and charge toll on the National Road as the states should surrender this right to the government.[41] This bill was vetoed by President Monroe, on grounds already stated, and the road fell into a very bad condition. But what the National government could not do the individual states could do, and, consequently, as fast as repairs were completed, the government surrendered the road to the states through which it passed. Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia, accepted completed portions of the road between 1831 and 1834.[42] The Legislatures of Ohio and Pennsylvania at once passed laws concerning the erection of toll gates, Ohio authorizing one gate every twenty miles, February 4, 1831,[43] and Pennsylvania authorizing the erection of six toll gates by an act passed April 11, of the same year.[44]

The gates in Pennsylvania were located as follows: Gate No. 1 at the east end of Petersburg. No. 2 near Mt. Washington, No. 3 near Searights, No. 4 near Beallsville, No. 5 near Washington, and No. 6 near West Alexander.

The National Road was under the control of commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, the state legislatures, or governors.[45] Upon these commissioners lay the task of repairing the road, which included the making of contracts,

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[41] *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 500.

[42] See Appropriation No. 27, p. 143.

[43] *Laws of Ohio* XXIX, p. 76. For specimen advertisement for bids for erection of toll gates in Ohio see Appendix No. 4, p. 147.

[44] *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 419.

[45] *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 523.

reviewing the work done, and rendering payment for the same. None of the work of building the road fell on the state officials. Therefore, in Ohio, two great departments were simultaneously in operation, the building of the road by the government officials, and the work of operating and repairing the road, under state officials. Two commissioners were appointed in Pennsylvania, in 1847, one acting east, and the other west, of the Monongahela river.[46] In 1836 Ohio placed all her works of internal improvement under the supervision of a Board of Public Works, into whose hands the National Road passed.[47] Special commissioners were appointed from time to time by the state legislatures to perform special duties, such as overseeing work being done, auditing accounts or settling disputes.[48] Two resident engineers were appointed over the eastern and western divisions of the road in Ohio, thus doing away with the continual employment and dismissal of the most important of all officials. These engineers made quarterly reports concerning the road's condition.[49]

The road was conveniently divided by the several states into departments. East of the Ohio river, the Monongahela river was a division line, the road being divided by it into two divisions.[50] West of the Ohio the eighty-seventh mile post from Wheeling was, at one time, a division line between two departments in Ohio.[51] Later, the road in Ohio was cut up into as many divisions as counties through which it passed.[52] The work of repairing was let by contract, for which bids had been previously advertised. Contracts were usually let in one mile sections, sometimes for a longer space, notice of the length being given in the advertisement for bids. Contractors were compelled to give testimonials of good character and reliability; though one contract, previously quoted, professed to be satisfied with "competent or responsible individuals only"! Time limit was usually named in

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[46] Idem, p. 477.
[47] *Laws of Ohio* XXXIV, p. 41; XXV, p. 7.
[48] Idem XXIII, p. 447.
[49] Idem XLIII, p 89.
[50] *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 477.
[51] *Laws of Ohio* XLIII, p. 140.
[52] Idem LVIII, p. 140.

the contract, with penalties for failure to complete the work in time assigned.

The building of the road was hailed with delight by hundreds of contractors and thousands of laborers, who now had employment offered them worthy of their best labor, and the work, when well done, stood as a lasting monument to their skill. Old papers and letters speak frequently of the enthusiasm awakened among the laboring classes by the building of the great road, and of the lively scenes witnessed in those busy years. Contractors, who early earned a reputation, followed the road westward, taking up contract after contract as opportunity offered. Farmers who lived on the route of the road engaged in the work when not busy in their fields, and for their labor, and the use of the teams received good pay. Thus not only in its heyday did the road prove a benefit to the country through which it passed, but at the very beginning it became such, and not a little of the money spent upon it by the government went into the very pockets from which it came by the sale of land.

The great pride taken by the states in the National Road is brought out significantly in the laws passed concerning it. Pennsylvania and Ohio legislatures passed laws as early as 1828, and within three days of each other (Pennsylvania, April 7,[53] and Ohio, April 11[54]), looking toward the permanent repair and preservation of the road. There were penalties for breaking or defacing the mile-stones, culverts, parapet walls and bridges. A person found guilty of such act of vandalism was "fined in a sum of not more than five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in a dungeon of the jail of the county, and be fed on bread and water only, not exceeding thirty days, or both, at the discretion of the court."[55] There were penalties for allowing the drains to become obstructed, for premature traveling on unfinished portions of the road bed;[56]; for permitting a wagon to stand over

[53] *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 500.

[54] *Laws of Ohio* XXVI, p. 41.

[55] *Laws of Ohio* XXVI, p. 41.

[56] Concerning the celerity of opening the road after the completion of contracts, Captain Weaver, Superintendent in Ohio, made the following statement in his report of 1827:

"Upon the first, second and third divisions, with a cover of metal

night on the road bed, and for locking wheels, except where ice made this alternative necessary. Local authorities were ordered to build suitable culverts wherever the roads connected with the National Road. "Directors" were ordered to be set up, to warn drivers to turn to the left when passing other teams.[57] The rates of toll were ordered to be posted where the public could see them.[58] "Beacons" were erected along the margin of the road bed to keep teams from turning aside. Laws were passed forbidding the removal of these.[59]

The operation of the National Road included the establishment of the toll system, which provided the revenue for keeping it in repair; and from the tolls the most vital statistics concerning the old road are to be obtained. Immediately upon the passing of the road into the control of the individual states, toll gates were authorized, as previously noted. Schedules of tariff were

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of six inches in thickness, composed of stone reduced to particles of not more than four ounces in weight, the travel was admitted in the month of June last. Those divisions that lie eastward of the village of Fairview, together embrace a distance of very nearly twenty-eight and a half miles, and were put under contract on the first of July, and first and thirty-first of August, 1825. This portion of the road has been in pursuance of contracts made last fall and spring, covered with the third stratum of metal of three inches in thickness, and similarly reduced. On parts of this distance, say about five miles made up of detached pieces, the travel was admitted at the commencement of the last winter and has continued on to this time to render it compact and solid, it is very firm, elastic and smooth. The effect has been to dissipate the prejudices which existed very generally, in the minds of the citizens, against the McAdam system, and to establish full confidence over the former plan of constructing roads.

"On the first day of July, the travel was admitted upon the fourth and fifth divisions, and upon the second, third, fourth and fifth sections of the sixth division of the road, in its graduated state. This part of the line was put under contract on the eleventh day of September, 1826, terminating at a point three miles west of Cambridge, and embraces a distance of twenty-three and a half miles. On the twenty-first of July the balance of the line to Zanesville, comprising a distance of a little over twenty-one miles, was let."

[57] *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 419.

[58] *Laws of Ohio* XXVI, p. 41; *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 102.

[59] Idem XXVI, p. 41.

published by the various states. The schedule of 1831 in Pennsylvania was as follows:

For every score of sheep or hogs	.06
" " " cattle	.12
" " led or driven horse	.03
" " horse and rider	.04
" " sleigh or sled, for each horse or pair of oxen drawing the same	.03
" " dearborn, sulky, chair or chaise with one horse	.06
" " chariot, coach, coachee, stage, wagon, phaeton, chaise, with two horses and four wheels	.12
" either of the carriages last mentioned with four horses	.18
" every other carriage of pleasure, under whatever name it may go, the like sum, according to the number of wheels and horses drawing the same.	..
" " cart of wagon whose wheels shall exceed two and one-half inches in breadth, and not exceeding four inches.	.04
" " horse or pair of oxen drawing the same, and every other cart or wagon, whose wheels shall exceed four inches, and not exceed five inches in breadth	.03
" " horse or pair of oxen drawing the same, and for every other cart or wagon, whose wheels shall exceed six inches, and not more than eight inches.	.02
" " horse or pair of oxen drawing the same, all other carts or wagons whose wheels shall exceed eight inches in breadth	free

The tolls established the same year in Ohio (see table, page 59) were higher than those charged in Pennsylvania.

The philosophy of the toll system is patent. Rates of toll were determined by the wear on the road. Tolls were charged in order to keep the road in repair, and, consequently, each animal or vehicle was taxed in proportion as it damaged the roadbed. Cattle were taxed twice as heavily as sheep or hogs, and, according to the tariff of 1845, hogs were taxed twice as much as sheep. The tariff on vehicles was determined by the width of the tires used, for the narrower the tire the more the roadbed was cut up. Wide tires were encouraged, those over six inches (later eight) went free, serving practically as rollers.

TOLLS ON THE NATIONAL ROAD IN OHIO (1831–1900.)

	1831	1832	1836	1837	1845[60]	1900
Score sheep or hogs	.10	.05	.06¼	.06¼	.05 .10	.12
Score cattle	.20	.10	.12½	.12½	.20	.25
Every horse, mule or ass, led or driven	.03	.01½	.02	.03	.03	.05
Every horse and rider	.06¼	.04	.06¼	.06¼	.05	.06
Every sled or sleigh drawn by one horse or ox	.12½	.06¼	.08	.06	.05	.12
Every horse in addition	.06¼	.04	.04	.04	.05	.06
Every dearborn, sulky, chair or chaise, 1 horse	.12½	.08	.12½	.12½	.10	.12
Every horse in addition	.06¼	.04	.06¼	.04	.05	.06
Every chariot, coach, coachee, horses	.18¾	.12½	.18¾	.18¾	...	.30
Every horse in addition	.06¼	.03	.06¼	.06¼	...	.12
Every vehicle wheels under 2½ in. in breadth	.12½	...	.12½	.10	...	...
Every vehicle wheels under 4 in. in breadth	.06¼	.06¼	.08	.08	...	...
Every horse drawing same	.03	.02	.04	.05	...	...
Every vehicle wheels exceeding four and not exceeding five inches	.04	...	...	...	...	...
Every vehicle wheels exceeding four and not exceeding six inches	...	.02	.04	.06¼	...	...
Every horse or ox drawing same	.02	.02	.02	.05	...	...
Every vehicle wheels exceeding six inches	...	...	...	.04	...	...
Every person occupying seat in mail stage	.04	.03	...	...	...	...

Estimates differed in various states but averaged up quite evenly. To the rising generation, to whom toll gates are almost unknown, a study of the toll system affords novel entertainment, helping one to realize something of one of the most serious

[60] Tolls for 1845 were based on number of horses, each additional horse being taxed about .20. Tolls for 1900 (in Franklin county, Ohio) practically identical with tolls of 1845.

questions of public economics of two generations ago. Toll gates averaged one in eighteen or twenty miles in Pennsylvania and one in ten miles in Ohio, with tolls a little higher than half the rate in Pennsylvania.

Toll gate keepers were appointed by the Governor in the early days in Ohio,[61] but, on most of the road, by the commissioners. These keepers received a salary which was deducted from their collections, the remainder being turned over to the commissioners. The salary established in Ohio in 1832 was $180,000 per annum.[62] In 1836 it was increased to $200,000 per annum, and toll keepers were also allowed to retain five per cent. of all tolls received above one thousand dollars.[63] In 1845 toll keepers were ordered to make returns on the first Monday in each month, and the allowance of their per cent. on receipts over one thousand dollars was cut off, leaving their salary at $200.00 per annum.[64] Equally perplexing with the question of just tolls was found to be the question of determining what and who should have free use of the National Road. This list was increased at various times, and, in most states, including the following at one time or another: Persons going to, or returning from public worship, muster, common place of business on farm or woodland, funeral, mill, place of election, common place of trading or marketing within the county in which they resided. This included persons, wagons, carriages and horses or oxen drawing the same. No toll was charged school children or clergymen, or for passage of stage and horses carrying United States mail, or any wagon or carriage laden with United States property, or cavalry, troops, arms or military stores of the United States, or any single state, or for persons on duty in the military service of the United States, or of the militia of any single state. In Pennsylvania, a certain stage line made the attempt to carry passengers by the toll gates free, taking advantage of the clauses allowing free passage of the United States mail by putting

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[61] *Laws of Ohio* XXX, p. 321.
[62] Idem XXX, p. 8.
[63] Idem XXXIV, p. 111.
[64] Idem XLIII, p. 89.

a mail sack on each passenger coach. The stage was halted and the matter taken into court, where the case was decided against the stage company, and persons traveling with mail coaches were compelled to pay toll.[65] Ohio took advantage of Pennsylvania's experience and was forward in passing a law that passengers on stage coaches should pay toll.[66] Pennsylvania exempted persons hauling coal for home consumption from paying toll.[67] Many varied and curious attempts to evade payment of tolls were made, and laws were passed inflicting heavy fine upon all convicted of such malefaction. In Ohio, toll gate keepers were empowered to arrest those suspected with such attempts, and, upon conviction, the fine went into the road fund of the county wherein the offense occurred.[68]

Persons making long trips on the road could pay toll for the entire distance and receive a certificate guaranteeing free passage to their destination.[69] Compounding rates were early put in force applying, in Ohio, to persons residing within eight miles of the road, [70] the radius being extended, later, to ten.[71] Passengers in the stages were counted by the toll gate keepers and the company operating the stage charged with the toll. At the end of each month, stage companies settled with the authorities. Thus it became possible for the stage drivers to deceive the gate keepers, and save their companies large sums of money. Drivers were compelled to declare the number of passengers in their stage, and in the event of failing to do so, gate keepers were allowed to charge the company for as many passengers as the stage could contain.[72]

Stage lines were permitted to compound for yearly passage of stages over the road and the large companies took advantage of the provision, though the passengers were counted by the

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[65] *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), pp. 534, 164, 430–1.
[66] *Laws of Ohio* XXXV, p. 7.
[67] *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 353.
[68] *Laws of Ohio* XXX, p. 8.
[69] Idem XXIX, p. 76.
[70] Idem XXX, p. 8.
[71] Idem XXX, p. 7.
[72] Idem XXXII, p 265; XXX, p. 7.

OLD BRADDOCK SPRINGS HOUSE.

BRADDOCK'S GROVE,
BESIDE THE NATIONAL ROAD.

gate keepers. It may be seen that gate keepers were in a position to embezzle large sums of money if they were so minded, and it is undoubted that this was done in more than one instance. Indeed, with a score and a half of gates, and a great many traveling on computation rates, it would have been remarkable if some employed in all those years during which the toll system was in general operation did not steal. But this is lifting the veil from the good old days.

As will be seen later the amounts handled by the gate keepers were no small sums. In the best days of the road the average amount handled by toll gate keepers in Pennsylvania was about $1800.00 per annum. In Ohio, with gates every ten miles, the average (reported) collection was about $2,000.00 in the best years. It is difficult to reconcile the statement made by Mr. Searight concerning the comparative amount of business done on various portions of the National Road, with the figures he himself quotes. He says: "It is estimated that two-fifths of the trade and travel of the road were diverted at Brownsville, and fell into the channel furnished at that point by the slack water navigation of the Monongahela river, and a like proportion descended the Ohio from Wheeling, and the remaining fifth continued on the road to Columbus, Ohio, and points further west. The travel west of Wheeling was chiefly local, and the road presented scarcely a tithe of the thrift, push, whirl and excitement which characterized it east of that point."[73] on another page Mr. Searight gives the account of the old time superintendents of the road in Pennsylvania in its most prosperous era, one dating from November 10, 1840, to November 10, 1841,[74] the other from May 1, 1843, to December 31, 1844.[75] In the first of these the amount of tolls received from the eastern division of the road (east of the Monongahela) is two thousand dollars less than the amount received from the western division! Even after the amounts paid by the two great stage companies are deducted, a balance of over a thousand dollars is left in favor of the division west of the Monongahela river. In the second

[73] *The Old Pike*, p. 298.
[74] Idem, p. 362–6.
[75] Idem, p. 367–70.

report, $4,242.37 more was received on the western division of the road than on the eastern, and even after the amounts received from the stage companies are deducted, the receipts from the eastern division barely exceed those of the western. How can it be that "two-fifths of the trade and travel of the road were diverted at Brownsville"? And the further west Mr. Searight goes, the more does he seem to err, for the road west of the Ohio river, instead of showing "scarcely a tithe of the thrift, push, whirl and excitement which characterized it east of that point" seems to have done a greater business than the portion east of the Ohio river. For instance, when the road was completed as many miles in Ohio as were built in Pennsylvania, the returns from the portion in Ohio (1833) was $12,259.42-4 (in the very first year that the road was completed), while in Pennsylvania the receipts in 1840 were only $18,429.25, after the road had been used for twenty-two years. In the same year (1840) Ohio collected $51,364.67 from her National Road toll gates — about three times the amount collected in Pennsylvania. Again Mr. Searight gives a Pennsylvania commissioner's receipts for the twenty months beginning May 1, 1843, as $37,109.11, while the receipts from the road in Ohio in only the twelve months of 1843 was $32,157.02! At the same time the tolls charged in Ohio were a trifle in excess of those imposed in Pennsylvania, therefore, Ohio's advantage must be curtailed slightly. On the other hand it should be taken into consideration that the National Road in Pennsylvania was almost the only road across the portion of the state through which it ran, while in Ohio other roads were used, especially clay roads running parallel with the National Road, by drivers of sheep and pigs, as an aged informant testifies. As Mr. Searight has said, the travel of the road west of the Ohio may have been chiefly of a local nature, yet his seeming error concerning the relative amount of travel on the two divisions in his own state, makes his statements less trustworthy in the matter. Still it can be readily believed that a great deal of continental trade did pass down the Monongahela after traversing the eastern division of the road and that increased local trade on the western division rendered the toll receipts of both divisions quite equal. Local travel on the eastern division may have been

light, comparatively speaking. Mr. Scaright undoubtedly meant that two-fifths of the through trade stopped at Brownsville and Wheeling and one-fifth only went on into Ohio. The total amount of tolls received by Pennsylvania from all roads, canals, etc., in 1836 was about $50,000, while Ohio received a greater sum than that in 1838 from tolls on the National Road alone, and the road was not completed further west than Springfield.

A study of the amounts of tolls taken in from the National Road by the various states will show at once the volume of the business done. Ohio received from the National Road in forty-seven years nearly a million and a quarter dollars. An itemized list of this great revenue is interesting, showing, as it does, the varying fortunes of the great road:

YEAR	TOLLS	YEAR	TOLLS
1831	$2,777 16	1856	6,105 00
1832	9,067 99	1857	6,105 00
1833	12,259 42–4	1858	6,105 00
1834	12,693 65	1859	5,551 36
1835	16,442 26	1860	11,221 74
1836	27,455 13	1861	21,492 41
1837	39,843 35	1862	19,000 00
1838	50,413 17	1863	20,000 00
1839	62,496 10	1864	20,000 00
1840	51,364 67	1865	20,000 00
1841	36,951 33	1866	19,000 00
1842	44,656 18	1867	20,631 34
1843	32,157 02	1868	18,934 49
1844	30,801 13	1869	20,577 04
1845	31,439 38	1870	19,635 75
1846	28,946 21	1871	19,244 00
1847	42,614 59	1872	18,002 09
1848	49,025 66	1873	17,940 37
1849	46,253 38	1874	17,971 21
1850	37,060 11	1875	17,265 12
1851	44,063 65	1876	9,601 68
1852	36,727 26	1877	288 91
1853	35,354 40		
1854	18,154 59	Total	$1,139,795 30–4
1855	6,105 00		

About 1850 Ohio began leasing portions of the National Road to private companies. In 1854 the entire distance from

Springfield to the Ohio river was leased for a term of ten years for $6,105 a year. Commissioners were appointed to view the road continually and make the lessees keep it in good condition as when it came into their hands.[76] Before the contract had half expired, the Board of Public Works was ordered (April, 1859) to take the road to relieve the lessees.[77] In 1870 the proper limits of the road were designated to be "a space of eighty feet in width, and where the road passed over a street in any city of the second class, the width should conform to the width of that street" and such cities should own it so long as it was kept in repair.[78]

Finally, in 1876, the state of Ohio authorized commissioners of the several counties to take so much of the road as lay in each county under their control. It was stipulated that toll gates should not average more than one in ten miles, and that no toll be collected between Columbus and the Ohio Central Lunatic Asylum. The county commissioners were to complete any unfinished portions of the road.[79]

Later (1877) the rates of toll were left to the discretion of the county commissioners, with this provision:

> "That when the consent of the Congress of the United States shall have been obtained thereto, that the county commissioners of any county having a population under the last Federal census of more than fifteen thousand six hundred and less than fifteen thousand six hundred and fifty shall have the power when they deem it for the best interest of the road, or when the people whom the road accommodates wish to submit to the legal voters of the county, at any regular or special election, the question, Shall the National Road be a free turnpike road? And when the question is so submitted, and a majority of all those voting on said question, shall vote yes, it shall be the duty of said

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[76] *Laws of Ohio* LII, p. 126.
[77] Idem LVI, p. 159.
[78] Idem LXX, p. 194.
[79] Idem LXXIII, p. 105.

commissioners to sell gates, toll-houses and any other property belonging to the road to the highest bidder, the proceeds of the sale to be applied to the repair of the road, and declare so much of the road as lies within their county a free turnpike road to be kept in repair in the way and manner provided by law for the repair of free turnpikes."[80]

The receipts from the Franklin county, Ohio, toll gate, now in operation, for the year 1899 was as follows:

January	$36 00
February	32 80
March	39 90
April	80 75
May	67 25
June	54 85
July	47 15
August	35 75
September	29 27
October	29 26
November	35 05
December	34 05
Total	$522 08

It will be noted that April was the heaviest month of the year. The gate keeper receives a salary of $30.00 per month.

It is hardly necessary to say that the great American highway was never a self-supporting institution. The fact that it was estimated that the yearly expense of repairing the Ohio division of the road was $100,000.00 while the greatest amount of tolls collected in its most prosperous year (1839) was hardly half that amount ($62,496.10) proves this conclusively. Investigation into the records of other states shows the same condition. In the most prosperous days of the road the tolls in Maryland (1837) amounted to $9,953.00 and the expenditures $9,660.51.[81] In 1839 a "balance" was recorded of $1,509.08, but a like amount was charged up on the debtor side of the account. The receipts reported each year in the Auditor's reports of the state of Ohio

[80] *Laws of Ohio* LXXIV, p. 62.

[81] *"Report of the Superintendent of the National Road, with Abstract of Tolls for the fiscal year"* (1837).

show that equal amounts were expended yearly upon the road. As early as 1832 the Governor of Ohio was authorized to borrow money to repair the road in that state.[82]

VII.

STAGE COACHES AND FREIGHTERS.

The great work of building and keeping in repair the National Road, and of operating it, developed a race of men as unknown before its era as afterward. For the real life of the road, however, one will look to the days of its prime—to those who passed over its stately stretches and dusty coils as stage and mail coach drivers, express carriers and "wagoners," and the tens of thousands of passengers and immigrants who composed the public which patronized the great highway. This was the real life of the road—coaches numbering as many as twenty traveling in a single line; wagon-house yards where a hundred tired horses rest over night besides their great loads; hotels where seventy transient guests have been served breakfast in a single morning; a life made cheery by the echoing horns of hurrying stages; blinded by the dust of droves of cattle numbering into the thousands; a life noisy with the satisfactory creak and crunch of the wheels of great wagons carrying six and eight thousand pounds of freight east or west.

The revolution of society since those days could not have been more surprising. The change has been so great it is a wonder that men deign to count their gain by the same numerical system. As Macauley has said, we do not travel to-day, we merely "arrive." You are hardly a traveler now unless you cross a continent. Travel was once an education. This is growing less and less true, perhaps, with the passing years. Fancy a journey from St. Louis to New York in the old coaching days, over the National Road and the old York roads. How many persons the traveler met! How many interesting and instructive conversations were held with fellow travelers through the long hours; What customs, characters, foibles, amusing incidents would be noticed and remembered, ever afterward furnishing the informa-

[82] *Laws of Ohio* XXX, p. 8.

tion necessary to help one talk well and the sympathy necessary to render one capable of listening to others. The traveler often sat at the table with statesmen whom the nation honored, as well as with stage coach drivers whom a nation knew for their skill and prowess over six galloping horses. Henry Clays and "Red" Buntings dined together, and each made the other wiser, if not better. The greater the gulf grows between the rich and poor, the more ignorant do both become, particularly the rich. There was undoubtedly a monotony in stage coach journeying, but the continual views of the landscape, the ever-fresh air, the constantly passing throngs of countless description, made such traveling an experience unknown to us "arrivers" of to-day. How fast it has been forgotten that travel means seeing people rather than things. The age of sight seeing has superseded that of traveling. How few of us can say with the New Hampshire sage, "We have traveled a great deal 'in Concord.'" Splendidly are the old coaching days described by Thackeray who caught their spirit:

> "The Island rang, as yet, with the tooting horns and rattling teams of mail coaches; a gay sight was the road in merry England in those days, before steam engines arose and flung its hostelry and chivalry over. To travel in coaches, to drive coaches, to know coachmen and guards, to be familiar with inns along the road, to laugh with jolly hostess in the bar, to chuck the pretty chambermaid under the chin, was the delight of men who were young not very long ago. The road was an institution, the ring was an institution. Men rallied around then; and, not without a kind of conservatism, expatiated upon the benefits with which they endowed the country, and the evils which would occur when they should be no more:—decay of English spirit, decay of manly pluck, ruin of the breed of horses, and so forth. To give or take a black eye was not unusual or derogatory in a gentleman; to drive a stage coach the enjoyment, the emulation of generous youth. Is there any young fellow of the present time who aspires to take the place of a stoker? You see occasionally in Hyde Park one dismal old drag with a lonely driver. Where are you,

> charioteers? Where are you, O rattling Quicksilver, O swift Defiance? You are passed by racers stronger and swifter than you. Your lamps are out, and the music of your horns has died away."[83]

In the old coaching days the passenger and mail coaches were operated very much like the railways of to-day. A vast network of lines covered the land. Great companies owned hundreds of stages operating on innumerable routes, competing with other companies. These rival stage companies fought each other at times with great bitterness, and competed, as railways do to-day, in lowering tariff and in out-doing each other in points of speed and accommodation.[84] New inventions and appliances were eagerly sought in the hope of securing a larger share of public patronage. This competition extended into every phase of the business—fast horses, comfortable coaches, well known and companionable drivers, favorable connections.

However, competition, as is always the case, sifted the competitors down to a small number. Companies which operated upon the National Road between Indianapolis and Cumberland became distinct in character and catered to a steady patronage which had its distinctive characteristics and social tone. This was in part determined by the taverns which the various lines patronized. Each line ordinarily stopped at separate taverns in every town, as our railways formerly entered individual depots. There were also found Grand Union taverns on the Old National Road. Had this system of communication not been abandoned, coach lines would have gone through the same experience that the railways have, and for very similar reasons.

The largest coach line on the National Road was the National Road Stage Company, whose most prominent member was Lucius W. Stockton. The headquarters of this line was at the National House on Morgantown street, Uniontown, Pennsylvania. The principal rival of the National Road Stage Company was the "Good Intent" line, owned by Shriver, Steele and Company, with

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[83] "*The Newcomes*," pp. 132–133.

[84] In one instance a struggle between two stage coach lines in Indiana resulted in carrying passengers from Richmond to Cincinnati for fifty cents. The regular price was five dollars.

headquarters at the McClelland House, Uniontown. The Ohio National Stage Company, with headquarters at Columbus, Ohio, operated on the western division of the road. There were many smaller lines, as the "Landlords," "Pilot," "Pioneer," "Defiance," "June Bug," etc.

Some of the first lines of stages were operated in sections, each section having different proprietors who could sell out at any time. The greater lines were constantly absorbing smaller lines and extending their ramifications in all directions. It will be seen there were trusts in the "good old days" of stage coaches, when smaller firms were "gobbled up" and "driven out" as happens to-day, and will ever happen in mundane history, despite the nonsense of political garblers. One of the largest stage companies on the old road was that of Neil, Moore and Company of Columbus, which operated hundreds of stages throughout Ohio. It was unable to compete with the Ohio National Stage Company to which it finally sold out, Mr. Neil becoming one of the magnates of the latter company, which was, in its day, a greater trust than anything known in Ohio to-day.[85]

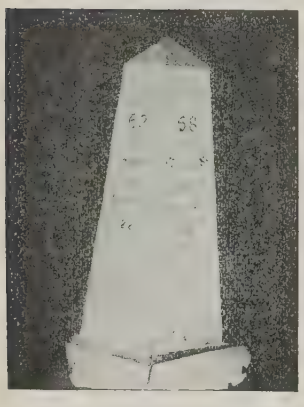
To know what the old coaches really were, one should see and ride in one. It is doubtful if a single one now remains intact. Here and there inquiry will raise the rumor of an old coach still standing on wheels, but if the rumor is traced to its source, it will be found that the chariot was sold to a circus or wild west show or has been utterly destroyed. The demand for the old stages has been quite lively on the part of the wild west shows.

These old coaches were handsome affairs in their day—painted and decorated profusely without, and lined within with soft silk plush.[86] There were ordinarily three seats inside, each capable of holding three passengers. Upon the driver's high outer seat was room for one more passenger, a fortunate posi-

[85] An old Ohio National Stage driver, Mr. Samuel B. Baker of Kirkersville, Ohio, is authority for the statement that the Ohio National Stage Company put a line of stages on the Wooster–Wheeling mail and freight route and "ran out" the line which had been doing all the business previously, after an eight months' bitter contest.

[86] The following appears in the *Ohio State Journal* of August 12, 1837: — A Splendid Coach — We have looked at a Coach now finishing off in the shop of Messrs. Evans & Pinney of this city, for the Ohio Stage

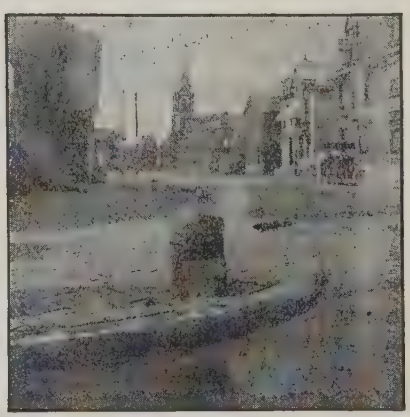
MILE STONES ON THE NATIONAL ROAD.



IN PENNSYLVANIA.

A BATTERED SPECIMEN.

IN A PRIVATE YARD NEAR COLUMBUS, OHIO.



AT CORNER OF MAIN AND FIFTH STREETS, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

tion in good weather. The best coaches like their counterparts on the railways of to-day, were named; the names of states, warriors, statesmen, generals, nations and cities, besides fanciful names, such as *"Jewess," "Ivanhoe," "Sultana," "Loch Lomond,"* were called into requisition.

The first coaches to run on the old National Road were long, awkward affairs, without braces or springs, and with seats placed crosswise. The door was in front, and passengers, on entering, had to climb over the seats. These first coaches were made at Little Crossings, Pennsylvania.

The body of succeeding coaches was placed upon thick, wide leathern straps which served as springs and which were called "through braces." At either end of the body was the driver's boot and the baggage boot. The first "Troy" coach put on the road came in 1829. It was a great novelty, but some hundreds of them were soon throwing the dust of Maryland and Pennsylvania into the air. Their cost then was between four and six hundred dollars. The harness used on the road was of giant proportions. The backbands were often fifteen inches wide, and the hip bands, ten. The traces were chains with short thick links and very heavy.

But the passenger traffic of the Old National Road played the same relation to the freight traffic as passenger traffic does to freight on the modern railway—a small item, financially considered. It was for the great wagons and their wagoners to haul over the mountains and distribute throughout the west the products of mill and factory and the rich harvests of the fields. And this great freight traffic created a race of men of its own, strong and daring, as they well had need to be. The fact that teamsters of these "mountain ships" had taverns or "wagon

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Company, and intended we believe for the inspection of the Post-Master General, who sometime since offered premiums for models of the most approved construction, which is certainly one of the most perfect and splendid specimens of workmanship in this line that we have ever beheld, and would be a credit to any Coach Manufactory in the United States. It is aimed, in its construction, to secure the mail in the safest manner possible, under lock and key, and to accommodate three outside passengers under a comfortable and complete protection from the weather. It is worth going to see."

houses" of their own, where they stopped, tended to separate them into a class by themselves. These wagon houses were far more numerous than the taverns along the road, being found as often as one in every mile or two. Here, in the commodious yards, the weary horses and their swarthy Jehus slept in the open air. In winter weather the men slept on the floors of the wagon houses. In summer many wagoners carried their own cooking utensils. In the suburbs of the towns along the road they would pull their teams out into the roadside and pitch camp, sending into the village to replenish their stores.

The bed of the old road freighter was long and deep, bending upward at the bottom at either end. The lower broad side was painted blue, with a movable board inserted above, painted red. The top covering was white canvas drawn over broad wooden bows. Many of the wagoners hung bells of a shape much similar to dinner bells, on a thin iron arch over the hames of the harness. Often the number of bells indicated the prowess of a teamster's horses, as the custom prevailed, in certain parts, that when a team became fast, or was unable to make the grade, the wagon rendering the necessary assistance, appropriated all the bells of the luckless team.

The wheels of the freighters were of a size proportionate to the rest of the wagon. The first wagons used on the old roads had narrow rims, but it was not long before the broad rims, or "broad tread wagons," came into general use by those who made a business of freighting. The narrow rims were always used by farmers, who, during the busiest season on the road, deserted their farms for the high wages temporarily to be made, and who in consequence were dubbed "sharp shooters" by the regulars. The width of the broad tread wheels was four inches. As will be noted, tolls for broad wheels was less than for the narrow ones which tended to cut the roadbed more deeply. One ingenious inventor planned to build a wheel with a rim wide enough to pass the toll gates free. The model was a wagon which had the rear axle four inches shorter than the front, making a track eight inches in width. Nine horses were hitched to this wagon, three abreast. The team caused much comment, but was not voted practicable.

The loads carried on the mountain ships were very large. An Ohio man, McBride by name, in the winter of 1848 went over the mountains with seven horses, taking a load of nine hogsheads weighing an average of one thousand pounds each.

The following description is from the *St. Clairsville* (Ohio) *Gazette* of 1835:

> "It was a familiar saying with Sam Patch that *some things can be done easier than others,* and this fact was forcibly brought to our mind by seeing a six-horse team pass our office on Wednesday last, laden with *eleven hogsheads of tobacco,* destined for Wheeling. Some speculation having gone forth as to its weight, the driver was induced to test it on the hayscales in this place, and it amounted to 13,280 lbs. gross weight — net weight 10,375. This team (owned by General C. Hoover of this county) took the load into Wheeling with ease, having a hill to ascend from the river to the level of the town, of eight degrees. The Buckeyes of Belmont may challenge competition in this line."

Teamsters received good wages, especially when trade was brisk. From Brownsville to Cumberland they often received $1.25 a hundred; $2.25 per hundred has been paid for a load hauled from Wheeling to Cumberland.[87] The stage drivers

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[87] Before the era of the National Road the price for hauling the goods emigrants over Braddock's Road was very high. One emigrant paid $5.33 per hundred for hauling "women and goods" from Alexandria, Virginia, to the Monongahela. Six dollars per hundred weight was charged one emigrant from Hagarstown, Md., to Terre Haute, Indiana. An elaborate description of the freighters of our 'Middle Age' is given by Mr. Thomas Wilson of the United States National Museum in a delightful article entitled "The Arkansas Traveller", *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications* Vol. VIII, pp. 296–300. Among other things the following is of special interest, written of a road parallel to the National road in Ohio: "The wagons were immense lumbering machines with broad tires three to five inches in width and an inch in thickness. The boxes or bodies were like unto the latter "Prairie Schooners;" the keel was not straight as is usual at the present day, but highly curved, being low in the center or middle of the wagon and high in the air at the front and back. The body was of framework mortised together, the slats, both horizontal and perpendicular, conformed in curve

received twelve dollars a month with board and lodging. Usually the stage drivers had one particular route between two towns about twelve miles apart on which they drove year after year, and learned as well as trainmen, know their "run" to-day. The life was hard, but the dash and spirit rendered it as fascinating as railway life is now.

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to their respective body-pieces and standards in that they increased, and made the top end of the body to be higher and longer than was the bottom of the foundation. (See cut.) They were provided with bows and covered with sail-cloth, an efficient protection against rain. The wagon had what was then called a "patent Lock," now so common as to have lost the terms "patent" and "lock" both, and become a "brake." The handle of the brake was managed by the driver from the ground. Occasionally it swung back and forth over the hind wheel and was pulled down by the weight of the driver and fastened with a chain to a spike or hook; occasionally it was at the rear of the wagon and was pushed from side to side and kept in place by a ratchet. The pole of these wagons was known as "stiff," that it is it was fastened solid into the front hounds and did not fall to the ground, nor was it supported by the horses' necks. It was only used to steer and hold back, for which purpose long chains were fastened to its ends and attached by breast-chains to the hames.

The bodies of these wagons were set on bolsters and, of course, without springs. This, with their curve, brought them low in the center and gave the front wheels but little play in turning. The great length and weight of the wagon, with its six horses, made it a machine as unwieldy to turn or steer as a steamboat. The six horses were hitched to the wagon thus: the wheel horses with double and single trees fastened to the tongue and hounds by means of hammer and hammer-strap, the former serving as a bolt or pin; the middle leaders were hitched to double and single trees which hung by the middle hook in the iron loop at the end of the pole. From the same loop the lead-chain was hooked which, stretched between the middle leaders, received the hook of the double trees of the leaders. The drivers used but a single line fastened to the bridle-rein of the near lead horse. The lefthand side was the "near" side, the other the "off" side. The middle span of horses were the "middle leaders," the rear ones the "wheel horses." The near wheel horse carried the saddle for the driver, on which he could mount as occasion demanded, but he rarely did. In driving, he walked by the side of the near wheel horse, carrying in his hand his Loudoun County black-snake whip, the single line attached to the lead horse being continually within reach. The rear end of the line was buckled to the hame of the wheel horse, high up, and was about long enough to clear the ground as it swung; when it was not in use its slack was hung over the

Far better time was made by these old conveyances than many realize. Ten miles an hour was an ordinary rate of speed. A stage driver was dismissed more quickly for making slow time, than for being guilty of intoxication, though either offense was considered worthy of dismissal. The way bills handed to the drivers with the reins often bore the words "Make this time or we'll find some one who will." Competition in the matter of speed was as intense as it is now in the days of steam. A thousand legends of these rivalries still linger in story and tradition. Defeated competitors were held accountable by their companies and the loads or condition of their horses were seldom accepted as excuses. Couplets were often conjured up containing some brief story of defeat with a cutting sting for the vanquished driver:

"If you take a seat in Stockton's line
You are sure to be passed by Pete Burdine."

or

"Said Billy Willis to Peter Burdine
You had better wait for the oyster line."

In September, 1837, Van Buren's presidential message was carried from Baltimore (Canton Depot) to Philadelphia, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, in four hours and forty-three minutes. Seventy miles of the journey was done by rail, three by boat, and eighty-seven by horse. The seventy-three by rail and boat occupied one hundred and seventeen minutes and the eighty-seven by horse occupied the remaining two hundred and twenty-six minutes, or each mile in about two minutes and a half. This time was considered remarkable and shows how little time was lost, even in the relay system. And that message was not light, as any one may see by perusing its contents.

The news of the death of William the Fourth of England, which occurred June 20, 1837, was printed in Columbus, Ohio,

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hame. The line was used to guide the horses, more as a signal than by actual force. To pull it steadily without jerk means for the lead horse to come to "haw" (to the left); two or three short jerks meant for him to go "gee' (to the right). By these signals, with the aid of his voice, the driver had perfect command of his team."

papers July 28. It was not until 1847 that the capital of Ohio was connected with the world by telegraph wires.

Time tables of passenger coaches were published as railway time tables are to-day. The following is a National Road time table printed at Columbus for the winter of 1835-1836:

COACH LINES.

WINTER ARRANGEMENT.

THE OLD STAGE LINES with all their different connections throughout the state, continue as heretofore.

THE MAIL PILOT LINE, leaves Columbus for Wheeling daily, at 6 A. M., reaching Zanesville at 1 P. M. and Wheeling at 6 A. M. next day, through in 24 hours, allowing five hours repose at St. Clairsville.

THE GOOD INTENT LINE, leaves Columbus for Wheeling, daily at 1 P. M., through in 20 hours, reaching Wheeling in time to connect with the stages for Baltimore and Philadelphia.

THE MAIL PILOT LINE, leaves Columbus daily, for Cincinnati at 8 A. M., through in 36 hours, allowing six hours repose at Springfield.

Extras furnished on the above routes at any hour when required.

THE EAGLE LINE, leaves Columbus every other day, for Cleveland, through in 40 hours, via. Mt. Vernon and Wooster.

THE TELEGRAPH LINE leaves Columbus for Sandusky City, every other day at 5 A. M., through in two days, allowing rest at Marion, and connecting there with the line to Detroit, via. Lower Sandusky.

THE PHOENIX LINE, leaves Columbus every other day, for Huron, via Mt. Vernon and Norwalk, through in 48 hours.

THE DAILY LINE OF MAIL COACHES, leaves Columbus, for Chillicothe at 5 A. M., connecting there with the line to Maysville, Ky., and Portsmouth.

For seats apply at the General Stage Office, next door to Col. Noble's National Hotel.

T. C. ACHESON, *for the proprietor.*

The following advertisement of an opposition line, running in 1837, is interesting:

OPPOSITION!

DEFIANCE FAST LINE COACHES.

DAILY

FROM WHEELING, VA. to Cincinnati, O. via Zanesville, Columbus, Springfield and intermediate points.

Through in less time than any other line.

"By opposition the people are well served."

The Defiance Fast Line connects at Wheeling, Va. with Reside & Co.'s Two Superior daily lines to Baltimore, McNair and Co.'s Mail Coach

line, via Bedford, Chambersburg and the Columbia and Harrisburg Rail Roads to Philadelphia, being the only direct line from Wheeling—: also with the only coach line from Wheeling to Pittsburg, via Washington, Pa., and with numerous cross lines in Ohio.

The proprietors having been released on the 1st inst. from burthen of carrying the great mail, (which will retard any line) are now enabled to run through in a shorter time than any other line on the road. They will use every exertion to accommodate the traveling public. With stock infinitely superior to any on the road, they flatter themselves they will be able to give general satisfaction; and believe the public are aware, from past experience, that a liberal patronage to the above line will prevent impositions in high rates of fare by any stage monopoly.

The proprietors of the Defiance Fast Line are making the necessary arrangements to stock the Sandusky and Cleveland Routes also from Springfield to Dayton — which will be done during the month of July.

All baggage and parcels only received at the risk of the owners thereof.

JNO. W. WEAVER & CO.,
GEO. W. MANYPENNY,
JNO. YONTZ,
From Wheeling to Columbus, Ohio.
JAMES H. BACON,
WILLIAM RIANHARD,
F. M. WRIGHT,
WILLLIAM H. FIFE,
From Columbus to Cincinnati.

There was always danger in riding at night, especially over the mountains, where sometimes a mis-step would cost a life. The following item from a letter to a newspaper in 1837 tells of such an accident:

"One of the Reliance line of stages, from Frederick to the West, passed through here on its way to Cumberland. About ten o'clock the ill-fated coach reached a small spur of the mountain, running to the Potomac, and between this place and Hancock, termed Millstone Point, where the driver mistaking the track reined his horses too near the edge of the precipice, and in the twinkling of an eye, coach, horses, driver and passengers were precipitated upward of thirty-five feet onto a bed of rock below — the coach was dashed to pieces, and two of the horses killed — literally smashed.

"A respectable elderly lady of the name of Clarke, of Louis-

ville, Kentucky, and a negro child were crushed to death — and a man so dreadfully mangled that his life is flickering on his lips only. His face was beaten to a mummy. The other passengers and the driver were woefully bruised, but it is supposed they are out of danger. There were seven in number.

"I cannot gather that any blame was attached to the driver. It is said that he was perfectly sober; but he and his horses were new to this road, and the night was foggy and very dark."

An act of the legislature of Ohio required that every stage coach used for the conveyance of passengers in the night should have two good lamps affixed in the usual manner, and subjected the owner to a fine of from $10.00 to $30.00 for every forty-eight hours the coach was not so provided. Drivers of coaches who should drive in the night when the track could not be distinctly seen without having the lamps lighted were subject to a forfeiture of from $5.00 to $10.00 for each offense. The same act provided that drivers guilty of intoxication, so as to endanger the safety of passengers, on written notice of a passenger on oath, to the owner or agent, should be forthwith discharged, and subjected the owner continuing to employ that driver more than three days after such notice to a forfeiture of $50.00 a day.

Stage proprietors were required to keep a printed copy of the act posted up in their offices, under a penalty of $5.00.

Another act of the Ohio Legislature subjected drivers who should leave their horses without being fastened to a fine of not over $20.00.

As has been intimated, passengers purchased their tickets of the stage company in whose stage they embarked, and the tolls were included in the price of the ticket. A paper resembling a way bill was made out by the agent of the line at the starting point. This paper was given to the driver and delivered by him to the landlord at each station upon the arrival of the coach. This paper contained the names and destinations of the passengers carried, the sums paid as fare and the time of departure, and contained blank squares for registering time of arrival and departure from each station. The fares on the National

Road varied slightly but remained nearly as follows, when the great monopolies were in control:

Baltimore to Frederic	$2 00
Frederic to Hagarstown	2 00
Hagarstown to Cumberland	5 00
Cumberland to Uniontown	4 00
Uniontown to Washington	2 25
Washington to Wheeling	2 00
Wheeling to Zanesville	3 00
Zanesville to Columbus	2 00
Columbus to Springfield	2 00
Springfield to Cincinnati	3 00
Springfield to Indianapolis	3 00

Intermediate points 5 cents per mile.

VIII.

MAILS AND MAIL COACHES.

The most important official function of the National Road was to furnish means of transporting the United States mails. The strongest constitutional argument of its advocates was the need of facilities for transporting troops and mails. The clause in the constitution authorizing the establishment of post roads was interpreted by them to include any measure providing quick and safe transmission of the mails. As has been seen, it was finally considered by many to include building and operating railways with funds appropriated for the National Road.

The great mails of seventy-five years ago were operated on very much the same principle on which mails are operated to-day. The postoffice department at Washington contracted with the great stage lines for the transmission of the mails by yearly contracts, a given number of stages with a given number of horses to be run at given intervals, to stop at certain points, at a fixed yearly compensation, usually determined by the custom of advertising for bids and accepting the lowest offered.

When the system of mail coach lines reached its highest perfection the mails were handled as they are to-day. The great mails that passed over the National Road were the Great Eastern and Great Western mails out of Washington and St. Louis. A thousand lesser mail lines connected with the National Road

CHESTNUT RIDGE.

BRIDGE AT "BIG CROSSINGS."

at every step, principally those from Cincinnati in Ohio, and from Pittsburg in Pennsylvania. There were through and way mails, also mails which carried letters only, newspapers going by separate stage. There was also an "Express Mail" corresponding to the present "fast mail."

It is probably not realized what rapid time was made by the old-time stage and express mails over the National Road to the central west. Even compared with the fast trains of to-day, the express mails of sixty years ago, when conditions were favorable, made marvelous time. In 1837 the Post Office department required, in their contract for carrying the Great Western Express Mail from Washington over the National Road to Columbus and St. Louis, that the following time be made:

Wheeling, Virginia	30 hours.
Columbus, Ohio	45½ "
Indianapolis, Indiana	65½ "
Vandalia, Illinois	85½ "
St. Louis, Missouri	94 "

At the same time the ordinary mail coaches, which also served as passenger coaches, made very much slower time:

Wheeling, Virginia	2 days 11 hours.
Columbus, Ohio	3 " 16 "
Indianapolis, Indiana	6 " 20 "
Vandalia, Illinois	9 " 10 "
St. Louis, Missouri	10 " 4 "

Cities off the road were reached in the following time from Washington:

Cincinnati, Ohio	60 hours.
Frankfort, Kentucky	72 "
Louisville, Kentucky	78 "
Nashville, Tennessee	100 "
Huntsville, Alabama	115½ "

The ordinary mail to these points made the following time:

Cincinnati, Ohio	4 days 18 hours.
Frankfort, Kentucky	6 " 18 "
Louisville, Kentucky	6 " 23 "
Nashville, Tennessee	8 " 16 "
Huntsville, Alabama	10 " 21 "

The postoffice department had given its mail contracts to the steamship lines in the east, when possible at from Boston to Portland and New York to Albany. One mail route to the southern states, however, passed over the National Road and down to Cincinnati, where it went on to Louisville and the Mississippi ports by packet. The following time was made by this Great Southern Mail from Louisville:

Nashville, Tennessee	21 hours.
Mobile, Alabama	80 "
New Orleans, Louisiana	105 "

The service rendered to the south and southwest by the National Road, was not rendered to the northwest, as might have been expected. Chicago and Detroit were difficult to bring into easy communication with the east. Until the railway was completed from Albany to Buffalo, the mails went very slowly to the northwest from New York. The stage line from Buffalo to Cleveland and on west over the terrible Black Swamp road to Detroit was one of the worst in the United States. When lake navigation became closed, communication with northwestern Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and northern Indiana and Illinois was almost cut off. Had the stage route followed that of the buffalo and Indian on the high ground occupied by the Mahoning Indian trail from Pittsburg to Detroit, a far more excellent service might have been at the disposal of the postoffice department! As it was, stage horses floundered in the Black Swamp with "mud up to the horses' bridles," where a half dozen mails were often congested, and "six horses were barely sufficient to draw a two-wheeled vehicle fifteen miles in three days." In fact the road was at times impassable: "The road through the Black Swamp has been much of the season impassable. A couple of horses were lost in a mud hole last week. The bottom had fallen out. The driver was unaware of the fact. His horses plunged in and ere they could be extricated were drowned."[88]

The old time-tables of the National Road made an interest-

[88] *Ohio State Journal*, February 9, 1838. "The land mail between this and Detroit crawls with snails pace"—*Cleveland Gazette*, August 31, 1837.

ing study. One of the first of these published after the great stage lines were in operation over the entire road and the southern branch to Cincinnati, appeared early in the year 1833. By this schedule the Great Eastern Mail left Washington daily at 7 P. M. and Baltimore at 9 P. M. and arrived in Wheeling, on the Ohio river, in fifty-five hours. Leaving Wheeling at 4.30 A. M., it arrived in Columbus at five the morning following, and in Cincinnati at the same hour the next morning, making forty-eight hours from one point on the river to the other, much better time than any packet could make. The Great Western Mail left Cincinnati daily at 2 P. M. and reached Columbus at 1 P. M. on the day following. It left Columbus at 1.30 P. M. and reached Wheeling at 2.30 the day following, thence on to Washington in fifty-five hours.[89]

At times the mails on the National Road were greatly delayed, taxing the patience of the public beyond endurance. The road itself was so well built that rain had little effect upon it as a rule. In fact, delay of the mails was more often due to inefficiency of the postoffice department, inefficiency of the stage line service, or failure of contractors, than poor roads. Until a bridge was built across the Ohio river at Wheeling, in 1836, mails often became congested, especially when ice was running out. There were frequent derangements of cross and way mails which affected seriously the efficiency of the service. The vast number of connecting mails on the National Road made regularity in

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[89] The northern and southern Ohio mails connected with the Great Eastern and Great Western mails at Columbus. They were operated as follows:

Northern Mail: Left Sandusky City 4 A. M., reached Delaware 8 P. M. Left Delaware next day 3 A. M., reached Columbus 8 A. M. Left Columbus 8:30 A. M., reached Chillicothe 4 P. M. Left Chillicothe next day 4 A. M., reached Portsmouth 3 P. M.

Southern Mail: Left Portsmouth 9 A. M., Chillicothe 5 P. M., Columbus 1 P. M., day following. Delaware 7 P. M., Sandusky City 7 P. M. day following. A Cleveland mail left Cleveland daily for Columbus via Wooster and Mt. Vernon at 3 A. M., and reached Columbus on the day following at 5 P. M., returning the mail left Columbus at 4 A. M. and reached Cleveland at 5 P. M. on the ensuing day.

transmission of cross mails confusing, especially if the through mails were at all irregular.

To us living in the present age of telegraphic communication and the ubiquitous daily paper, it may not occur that the mail stages of the old days were the newsboys of the age, and that thousands looked to their coming for the first word of news from distant portions of the land. In times of war or political excitement the express mail stage and its precious load of papers from Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, was hailed as the latest editions of our newspapers are to-day. Thus it must have been that a greater proportion of the population along the Old National Road awaited with eager interest the coming of the stage in the old days, than to-day await the arrival of the long mail trains from the east.

Late in the 30's and in the 40's, when the mail stage system reached its highest perfection, the mail and passenger service had been entirely separated, special stages being constructed for hauling the former. As early as 1837 the postoffice department decreed that the mails, which heretofore had always been held as of secondary consideration compared with passengers, should be carried in specially arranged vehicles, into which the postmaster should put them under lock and key not to be opened until the next postoffice was reached. These stages were of two kinds, designed to be operated upon routes where the mails ordinarily comprised, respectively, a half and nearly a whole load. In the former, room was left for six passengers, in the latter, for three. Including newspapers with the regular mail, the later stages which ran westward over the National Road rarely carried passengers. Indeed there was little room for the guards who traveled with the driver to protect the government property. Many old drivers of the "Boston Night Mail," or the "New York Night Mail," or "Baltimore Mail," may yet be found along the old road, who describe the immense loads which they carried westward behind flying steeds. Such a factor in the mail stage business did the newspapers become, that many contractors refused to carry them by express mail, consigning them to the

ordinary mails, thereby bringing down upon themselves the frequent savage maledictions of a host of local editors.[90]

Newspapers were, nevertheless, carried by express mail stages as far west as Ohio in 1837, as is proven by a newspaper account of a robbery committed on the National Road, the robbers holding up an express-mail stage and finding nothing in it but newspapers.[91]

The mails on the National Road were always in danger of being assailed by robbers, especially on the mountainous portions of the road at night. Though by dint of lash and ready revolver, the doughty drivers usually came off safely with their charge.

IX.

TAVERNS OF THE NATIONAL ROAD.

So distinctive was the character of the National Road that all which pertained to it was highly characteristic. Next to the race of men which grew up beside its swinging stretches, nothing had a more distinctive tone than the taverns which offered cheer and hospitality to its surging population.

The origin of taverns in the east and west was very dissimilar. The first taverns in the west were those which did service on the old Braddock's Road. Unlike the taverns of New England, which were primarily drinking places, sometimes closing at nine in the evening and not professing, originally, to afford

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[90] "The extreme irregularity which has attended the transmission of newspapers from one place to another, for several months past has been a subject of general complaint with the editors of all parties. It was to have been expected that, after the adjournment of Congress, the evil would have ceased to exist. Such, however, is not the case. Although the roads are now pretty good, and the mails arrive in due season, our eastern exchange papers seem to reach us only by chance. On Tuesday last, for instance, we received, among others, the following, viz., *The New York Courier* and *Enquirer* of March 1, 5 and 19; the *Philadelphia Times* and *Saturday Evening Post* of March 2; the *United States Gazette* of March 6; and the *New Jersey Journal* of March 5 and 19. The cause of this irregularity, we have reason to believe, does not originate in this state." *Ohio State Journal*, March 30, 1833.

[91] *Ohio State Journal*, August 9, 1837.

lodging, the tavern in the west arose amid the forest to answer the needs of travelers. It may be said that every cabin in all the western wilderness was a tavern, where, if there was a lack of "bear and cyder" there was an abundance of dried deer meat and Indian meal and a warm fire-place before which to spread one's blankets.[92]

The first cabins on the old route from the Potomac to the Ohio were at the Wills Creek settlement (Cumberland) and Gists clearing where Washington stopped on his La Bouef trip on the buffalo trace not far from the summit of Laurel Hill. After Braddock's Road was built, and the first roads were opened between Uniontown and Brownsville, Washington and Wheeling, during the Revolutionary period, a score of taverns sprang up — the first of the kind west of the Alleghany mountains.

The oldest tavern on Braddock's Road was Tomlinson's Tavern near "Little Meadows," eight miles west of the present village of Frostburg, Maryland.

At this point the lines of Braddock's Road and the National Road coincide. On land owned by him along the old miliary road Jesse Tomlinson erected a tavern. When the National Road was built, his first tavern was deserted and a new one built near the old site. Another tavern, erected by one Fenniken, stood on both the line of the military road and the National Road, two miles west of Smithfield ("Big Crossings") where the two courses were identical.

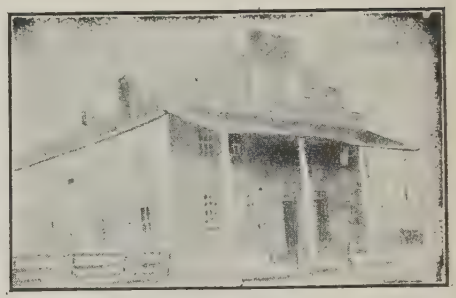
The first taverns erected upon the road which followed the portage path from Uniontown to Brownsville were Collin's Log Tavern and Rollin's Tavern, erected in Uniontown in 1781 and 1783, respectively. These taverns offered primitive forms of hospitality to the growing stream of sojourners over the rough mountain path to the Youghiogeny at Brownsville, where boats could be taken for the growing metropolis of Pittsburg. Another tavern in the west was carried on this road ten mile west of Uniontown. As the old century neared its close a score of taverns sprang up on the road from Uniontown to Brownsville

[92] It will be found upon investigation, that the portions of our country most noted for hospitality are those where taverns gained the least hold as a social institution.

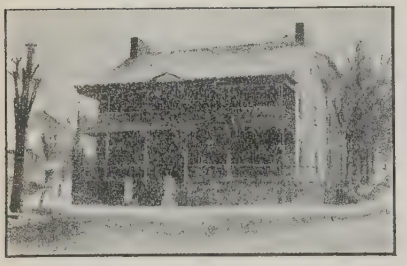
and on the road opened from Brownsville to Wheeling. At least three old taverns are remembered at West Brownsville. Hill's stone tavern was erected at Hillsboro in 1794. "Catfish Camp," the name of James Wilson's tavern at Washington, the first tavern in that historic town, was built in 1781 and operated eleven years for the benefit of the growing tide of pioneers who chose to embark on the Ohio at Wheeling rather than on the Monongahela at Brownsville. Other taverns at Washington before 1800 were McCormack's (1788), Sign of the White Goose (1791), Buck Tavern (1796, Sign of the Spread Eagle, and Globe Inn (1797). The Gregg Tavern and the famous old Workman House at Uniontown were both erected in the last years of the old century, 1797-1799. Two miles west of Rankintown, Smith's Stone tavern stood on the road to Wheeling and the Sign of the American Eagle (1796), offered lodging at West Alexander, several years before the old century closed. West of the Ohio river, on Zane's rough blazed track through the scattered Ohio settlements toward Kentucky, travelers found, as has been elsewhere noted, entertainment at Zane's clearings at the fords of the Muskingum and Scioto, and at the little settlement at Cincinnati. Before the quarter of a century elapsed, ere the National Road crossed the Ohio river, a number of taverns were erected on the line of the road which was built over the course of Zane's trace. On this first wagon road west of the Ohio river the earliest taverns were at St. Clairsville and Zanesville. At this latter point the road turned southwest, following Zane's trace to Lancaster, Chillicothe and Maysville, Kentucky. The first tavern on this road was opened at Zanesville during the last year of the old century, McIntire's Hotel. In the winter of the same year, 1799, Green's Tavern was built, in which, it is recorded, the Fourth of July celebration in the following year was held. Cordery's Tavern followed, and David Harvey built a tavern in 1800. The first license for a tavern in St. Clairsville was issued to Jacob Haltz, February 23, 1802. Two other licenses were issued that year to John Thompson and Bazil Israel. Barnes' Tavern was opened in 1803. William Gibson, Michael Groves, Sterling Johnson, Andrew Moore and Andrew Marshall, kept tavern in the first half decade of this

OLD TAVERNS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

TAVERN ON MT. WASHINGTON.



"TEMPLE OF JUNO," NEAR PETERSBURG.



WORKMAN HOUSE AT UNIONTOWN.

TAVERN AT MALDEN.

century. As elsewhere noted, there was no earlier road between Zanesville and Columbus which the National Road followed. West of Zanesville but one tavern was opened in the first decade of this century. Griffith Foos' tavern at Springfield, which was doing business in 1801, prospered until 1814. The other taverns of the west, at Zanesville, Columbus, Springfield, Richmond, Indiana and Indianapolis, are of another era and will be mentioned later.

The first taverns of the west were built mostly of log, though a few, as noted, were of stone. They were ordinary wilderness cabins, rendered professionally hospitable by stress of circumstance. They were more often of but one or two rooms, where, before the fireplace, guests were glad to sleep together upon the puncheon floor. The fare afforded was such as hunters had—game from the surrounding forest and neighboring streams and the product of the little clearing, potatoes and the common cereals.

At the beginning of the new century a large number of substantial taverns arose beside the first western roads—even before the National Road was under way. The best known of these were built at Washington, The Sign of the Cross Keys, (1801); The McClellan, (1802); National and Walker Houses at Uniontown. At Washington arose The Sign of the Golden Swan, (1806); Sign of the Green Tree, (1808); Gen. Andrew Jackson, (1813); and Sign of the Indian Queen, (1815). These were built in the age of saw-mills and some of them came well down through the century.

It is remarkable how many buildings are to be seen on the National Road which tell by their architectural form the story of their fortunes. Many a tavern, outgrowing the day of small things, was found to be wholly inadequate to the greater business of the new era. Additions were made as circumstances demanded, and in some cases the result is very interesting. The Seaton House in Uniontown was built in sections, as was the old Fulton House, (now Moran House) also of Uniontown. A fine old stone tavern at Malden, Pennsylvania, was erected in 1822 and an addition made in 1830. A stone slab in the second section bears the date "1830", also the word "Liberty", and a

rude drawing of a plow and sheaf of wheat. Though of more recent date, the well known "Four Mile House" west of Columbus, Ohio, displays, by a series of additions, the record of its prosperous days, when the neighboring "Camp Chase" held its population of Confederate prisoners.

Among the more important taverns which became the notable hostelries of the National Road should be mentioned the Black, American, Mountain Spring and Pennsylvania houses at Cumberland; Plumer tavern and Six Mile House west of Cumberland; Franklin and Highland Hall houses of Frostburg; Lehman and Shulty houses at Grantsville; Thistle tavern at the eastern foot of Negro mountain, and Hablitzell's stone tavern at the Summit; The Stoddard House on the summit of Keyser's Ridge; the stone tavern near the summit of Winding Ridge, and the Wable stand on the western slope; the Wentling and Hunter houses at Petersburg; the "Temple of Juno" two miles westward; the Endsley House and Camel tavern at Smithfield ("Big Crossing"); a tavern on Mt. Augusta; the Rush, Inks and John Rush houses, Sampey's tavern at "Great Meadows"; the Braddock Run House; Downer tavern; Snyder's tavern at eastern foot of Laurel Hill, and the Summit House at the top; Shipley and Monroe houses and Norris tavern east of Uniontown, and Searight's tavern six miles west; Johnson-Hatfield house; the Brashear, Marshall, Clark and Monongahela houses at Brownsville; Adam's tavern; Key's and Greenfield's tavern at Beallsville; "Gall's House"; Hastings and the Upland House at the foot of Egg Nogg Hill; Ringland's tavern at Pancake; the Fulton House, Philadelphia and Kentucky Inn and Travellers Inn at Washington; Rankin and Smith taverns; Caldwell's tavern; Brown's and Watkin's taverns at Claysville; Beck's tavern at West Alexander; the Stone tavern at Roney's Point and the United States Hotel and Monroe House at Wheeling.

West of the Ohio was Rhode's and McMahon's taverns at Bridgeport; Hoover's tavern near St. Clairsville; Chamberlain's tavern; Christopher Hoover's tavern, one mile west of Morristown; Taylor's tavern; Gleave's tavern and Stage office; Bradshaw's Hotel at Fairview; Drake's tavern at Middleton; Sign of the Black Bear at Washington; Carran's, McDonald's, Mc-

Kinney's and Wilson's taverns in Guernsey county and the "Ten Mile House" at Norwich, ten miles east of Zanesville. In Zanesville, Robert Taylor opened a tavern in 1805, and in 1807 moved to the present site of the Clarendon Hotel, situated on the National Road and hung out the Sign of the Orange Tree. Perhaps no tavern in the land can claim the honor of holding a state legislature within its doors, except the Sign of the Orange Tree, where, in 1810-12, when Zanesville was the temporary capital of Ohio, the legislature made its headquarters.[93] The Sign of the Rising Sun was another Zanesville tavern, opened in 1806, the name being changed by a later proprietor, without damage to its brilliancy, perhaps, to the Sign of the Red Lion. The National Hotel was opened in 1818 and became a famous hostelry. Roger's hotel is mentioned in many old advertisements for bids for making and repairing the National Road. In 1811 William Burnham opened the Sign of the Merino Lamb in a frame building owned by General Isaac Van Horne. The Sign of the Green Tree was opened by John S. Dugan in 1817, this being remembered for entertaining President Monroe, and General Lewis Cass at a later date. West of Zanesville, on the new route opened straight westward to Columbus, the famous monumental pile of stone, the "Five Mile House" long served its useful purpose beside the road and is one of the most impressive of its monuments, to-day. Edward Smith and Usal Headley were early tavern keepers at this point. Henry Winegamer built a tavern three miles west of the Five Mile House. Henry Hursey built and opened the first tavern at Gratiot. These public houses west of Zanesville were erected in the year preceding the opening of the National Road, which was built through the forest in the year 1831.[94] The stages which were soon running from Zanesville to Columbus, left the uncompleted line of the National Road at Jacksontown and struck across to Newark and followed the old road thence to Columbus. The first tavern built in Columbus was opened in 1813, which,

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[93] The Virginian House of Burgesses met in the old Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg, in 1773. — Woodrow Wilson's *George Washington*, p 146.

[94] For advertisement of sale of a National Road tavern see Appendix No. 4, p. 147.

in 1816, bore the sign "The Lion and the Eagle." After 1817 it was known as "The Globe." The Columbus Inn and White Horse Tavern were early Columbus hotels; Pike's tavern was opened in 1822, and a tavern bearing the sign of the Golden Lamb was opened in 1825. The Neil House was opened in the 20's, a transfer of it to new owners appearing in local papers in 1832. It was the headquarters of the Neil, Moore and Company line of stages, and the best known early tavern in the old coaching days in Ohio. Many forgotten taverns in Columbus can be found mentioned in old documents and papers including the famous American House, Buckeye Hotel, on the present site of the Board of Trade building, etc. West of Columbus the celebrated "Four Mile House", which has been referred to previously, was erected in the latter half of the century. In the days of the great mail and stage lines "Billy Werden's" tavern in Springfield was the leading hostelry in western Ohio. At this point the stages running to Cincinnati, with mail for the Mississippi Valley, left the National Road. Across the state line, Neal's and Clawson's taverns offered hospitality in the extreme eastern border of Indiana. At Richmond, Starr Tavern (Tremont Hotel), Nixon's Tavern, Gilbert's two-story, pebble-coated tavern and Bayle's Sign of the Green Tree, offered entertainment worthy of the road and its great business, while Sloan's brick stage house accommodated the passenger traffic of the stage lines. At Indianapolis, the Palmer House, built in 1837, and "Washington Hall," welcomed the public of the two great political faiths, Democrat and Whig, respectively.

Almost every mile of the road's long length wagon houses offered hospitality to the hundreds engaged in the great freight traffic, in which a large room with its fireplace could be found before which to lay blankets on a winter's night. The most successful wagon houses were situated at the outskirts of the larger towns, where, at more reasonable prices, and in more congenial surroundings than in a crowded city inn, the rough sturdy men, upon whom the whole west depended for over a generation for its merchandize, found hospitable entertainment for themselves and their rugged horses. These houses were usually unpretentious frame buildings surrounded by a commodious yard, and gener-

ous watering troughs and barns. A hundred tired horses have been heard munching their corn in a single wagon-house yard at the end of a long day's work.

In both tavern and wagon house the fire place and the bar were omnipresent, whatever else might be missing. The fireplaces in the first western taverns were notably generous, as the rigorous winters of the Alleghanies required. Many of these fire places were seven feet in length and nearly as high, capable of holding, had it been necessary, a wagon load of wood. With a great fire place at the end of the room, lighting up its darkest corners as no candle could, the taverns along the National Road where the stages stopped for the night, saw merrier scenes than any of their modern counterparts witness. And over all their merry gatherings the flames from the great fires threw a softened light, in which those who remember them best seem to bask as they tell of them to us. The taverns near some of the larger villages, Wheeling, Washington or Uniontown, often entertained for a winter's evening, a sleighing party from town, to whom the great room and its fireplace was surrendered for the nonce, where soon lisping footsteps and the soft swirl of old fashioned skirts told that the dance was on.

Beside the old fire place hung two important articles, the flip-iron and the poker. The poker used in the old road taverns was of a size commensurate with the fire place, often being seven or eight feet long. Each landlord was Keeper-of-the-Poker in his own tavern, and many were particular that none but themselves should touch the great fire, which was one of the main features of their hospitality, after the quality of the food and drink. Eccentric old "Boss" Rush in his famous tavern near Smithfield (Great Crossings) even kept his poker under lock and key.

The tavern signs so common in New England were known only in the earlier days of the National Road as many of the tavern names show. The majority of the great taverns bore on their signs only the name of their proprietor, the earliest landlord's name often being used for several generations. The advancing of the century can be noticed in the origin of such names as the "National House," the "United States Hotel," the "American House," etc. The evolution in nomenclature is, plainly,

from the sign or symbol to the landlord's name, then to a fanciful name. Another sign of later days was the building of verandas. The oldest taverns now standing are plain ones or the two story buildings rising abruptly from the pavement and opening directly upon it. Of this type is the Brownfield House at Uniontown and numerous half-forgotten houses which were early taverns in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The kitchen of the old inn was an important feature, especially as many of the taverns were little more than restaurants where stage passengers hastily dined. The food provided was of a plain and nourishing character, including the famous home-cured hams, which Andrew Jackson preferred, and the buckwheat cakes, which Henry Clay highly extolled. In this connection it should be said that the women of the old west were most successful in operating the old time taverns, and many of the best "stands" were conducted by them. The provision made in a license to a woman in early New England, that "she provide a fit man that is godly to manage the business," was never suggested in the west, where hundreds of brave women carried on the business of their husbands after their decease. And their heroism was appreciated and remembered by the gallant aristocracy of the road.

The old Revolutionary soldiers who, quite generally, became the landlords of New England, did not keep tavern in the west. But one Revolutionary veteran was landlord on the National Road. The road bred and brought up its own landlords to a large extent. The early landlords were fit men to rule in the early taverns, and provided from forest and stream the larger portion of food for the sojourners over the first rough roads. It is said that these objected to the building of the National Road, through fear that more accelerated means of locomotion would eventually cheat them out of the business which then fell to their share.

But, like the New England landlord, the western tavern-keeper was a many-sided man. Had the National Road taverns been located always within villages, their proprietors might have become what New England landlords are reputed to have been, town representatives, councilmen, selectmen, tapsters and heads of the "Train Band"—in fact, next to the town clerk in importance.

As it was, the western landlord often filled as important a position on the frontier as his eastern counterpart did in New England. This was due, in part, to the place which the western tavern occupied in society. Taverns were, both in the east and in the west, places of meeting for almost any business. This was particularly true in the west, where the public house was almost the only available place for any gathering whatever between the scattered villages. But while in the east the landlord was most frequently busy with official duties, the western landlord was mostly engaged in collateral professions, which rendered him of no less value to his community. The jovial host at the National Road tavern often worked a large farm, upon which his tavern stood. Some of the more prosperous on the eastern half of the road, owned slaves which carried on the work of the farm and hotel. He sometimes ran a store in connection with his tavern, and almost without exception, officiated at his bar, where he "sold strong waters to relieve the inhabitants." Whiskey, two drinks for a "fippeny bit," called "fip" for short (value 6¼ cents) was the principal "strong water" in demand. It was the pure article, neither diluted nor adulterated. In the larger towns of course any beverage of the day was kept at the taverns — sherry toddy, mulled wine, madeira and cider.

As has been said, the road bred its own landlords. Youths, whose lives began simultaneously with that of the great road, worked upon its curved bed in their teens, became teamsters and contractors in middle life, and spent the autumn of their lives as landlords of its taverns, purchased with the money earned in working upon it. Several well-known landlords were prominent contractors, many of whom owned their share of the great six and eight-horse teams which hauled freight to the western rivers.

The old taverns were the hearts of the National Road, and the tavern life was the best gauge to measure the current of business that ebbed and flowed. As the great road became superceded by the railways, the taverns were the first to succumb to the shock. In a very interesting article, a recent writer on "The Rise of the Tide of Life to New England Hilltops,"[95]

[95] Mr. Edward P. Pressey in *New England Magazine*, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (August 1900).

OLD-TIMERS.

speaks of the early hill life of New England, and the memorials there left "of the deep and sweeping streams of human history." The author would have found the National Road and its predecessors an interesting western example of the social phenomena with which he dealt. In New England, as in the central west, the first travelled courses were on the summits of the watersheds. These routes of the brute were the first ways of men. The tide of life has *ebbed* from New England hilltops since the beginning. Sufficient is it for the present subject that the National Road was the most important "stream of human history" from Atlantic tide-water to the headwaters of the streams of the Mississippi. Its old taverns are, after the remnants of the historic road-bed and ponderous bridges, the most interesting "shells and fossils" cast up by this stream. This old route, chosen first by the buffalo and followed by red and white men, will ever be the course of travel across the mountains. From this rugged path made by the once famous National Road, the tide of life can not ebb. Here, a thousand years hence, may course a magnificent boulevard, the American Appian way, to the commercial, as well as military, key of the eastern slopes of the Mississippi basin at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. It is important that each fact of history concerning this ancient highway be put on lasting record.

X.

CONCLUSION.

It is impossible to leave the study of the National Road without gathering up into a single chapter a number of threads which have not been woven into the preceding record. And first, the very appearance of the old road as seen by travellers who pass over it to-day. One can not go a single mile over it without becoming deeply impressed with the evidence of the age and its individuality of the old National Road. There is nothing nothing like it in the United States. Leaping the Ohio at Wheeling, the National Road throws itself across Ohio and Indiana, straight as an arrow, like an ancient elevated pathway of the gods, chopping hills in twain at a blow, traversing the lowlands on

high grades like a railroad bed, vaulting river and stream on massive bridges of unparalled size. The farther one travels upon it, the more impressed one must become, for there is, in the long grades stretches and ponderous bridges, that "masterful suggestion of a serious purpose, speeding you along with a strange uplifting of the heart," of which Kenneth Grahame speaks; "and even in its shedding off of bank and hedgerow as it marched straight and full for the open downs, it seems to declare it contempt for adventitious trappings to catch the shallow-pated."[96] For long distances, this road "of the sterner sort" will be, so far as its immediate surface is concerned, what the tender mercies of the counties through which it passes will allow, but at certain points, the traveler comes out unexpectedly upon the ancient road bed, for in many places the old macadamized bed is still doing noble duty.

Nothing is more striking than the ponderous stone bridges which carry the road bed over the water ways. It is doubtful if there are on this continent such monumental relics of the old stone bridge builders' art. Not only such massive bridges as those at Big Crossings — Smithfield, Pennsylvania — and the artistic "S" bridge near Claysville, Pennsylvania, will attract the traveler's attention, but many of the less pretentious bridges over brooks and rivulets will, upon examination, be found to be ponderous pieces of workmanship. A pregnant suggestion of the change which has come over the land can be read in certain of these smaller bridges and culverts. When the great road was built the land was covered with forests and many drains were necessary. With the passing of the forests many large bridges, formerly of much importance, are now of a size out of all proportion to the demand for them, and hundreds of little bridges have fallen into disuse, some of them being quite above the general level of the surrounding fields. The ponderous bridge at Big Crossings was finished and dedicated with great éclat July 4, 1818. Near the eastern end of the three fine arches is the following inscription: "Kinkead, Beck & Evans, builders, July 4, 1818."

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[96] "*The Golden Age*," p. 155.

The traveler will notice, still, the mile posts which mark the great road's successive steps. Those on the eastern portion of the road are of iron and were made at the founderies at Connelsville and Brownsville. Major James Francis had the contract for making and delivering those between Cumberland and Brownsville. John Snowdan had the contract for those between Brownsville and Wheeling. They were hauled in six horse teams to their sites. Those between Brownsville and Cumberland have recently been reset and repainted. The mile stones west of the Ohio river are mostly of sand stone, and are fast disappearing under the action of the weather. Some are quite illegible. In central Ohio, through the Darby woods, or "Darby Cuttings," the mile posts have been greatly mutilated by vandal wood-choppers, who knocked off large chips with which to sharpen their axes.

The bed of the National Road was originally eighty feet in width. In Ohio, at least, property owners have encroached upon the road, until in some places, ten feet of ground has been included within the fences. This matter has been brought into notice where franchises for electric railway lines have been granted. In Franklin county, west of Columbus, Ohio, there is hardly room for a standard gauge track outside the road-bed, where once the road occupied forty feet each side of its axis. When the property owners were addressed with respect to the removal of their fences, they demanded to be shown quit claim deeds for the land, which, it is necessary to say, were not forthcoming from the state. Hundreds of contracts, calling for a width of eighty feet, can be given as evidence of the original width of the road.[97] In days when it was considered the most extravagant good fortune to have the National Road pass through one's farm, it was not considered necessary to obtain quit claim deeds of the land!

It is difficult to sufficiently emphasize the aristocracy which existed among the old "pike boys," as those most intimately connected with the road were called. This was particularly true of

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[97] "The proper limits of the road are hereby defined to be a space of eighty feet in width — forty feet on each side of the center of the graded road-bed." — Law passed April 18, 1870, *Laws of Ohio,* Vol. LVIII, p. 140.

the drivers of the mail and passenger stages, men who were as often noted for their quick wit and large acquaintance with men, as for their dextrous handling of two hands full of reins. Their social and business position was the envy of the youth of a nation, whose ambition to emulate them was begotten of the best sort of hero worship. Stage drivers' foibles were their pet themes, such as the use of peculiar kinds of whips and various modes of driving. Of the latter there were three styles common to the National Road. (1) The flat rein (English style), (2) Top and bottom (Pennsylvania adaptation), (3) Side rein (Eastern style). The last mode was in commonest use. Of drivers there were, of course, all kinds, slovenly, cruel, careful. Of the best class, John Bunting, Jim Reynolds and Billy Armor were best known, after "Red" Bunting, in the east, and David Gordon and James Burr, on the western division. No one was more proud of the fine horses which did the work of the great road than the better class of drivers. As Thackeray said was true in England, the passing of the era of good roads and the mail stage has sounded the knell of the rugged race of horses which once did service in the central west.

As one scans the old files of newspapers, or reads old time letters and memoirs of the age of the National Road, he is impressed with the interest taken in the coming and going of the more renowned guests of the old road. The passage of a President-elect over the National Road was a triumphant procession. The stage companies made special stages, or selected the best of their stock, in which to bear him. The best horses were fed and groomed for the proud task. The most noted drivers were appointed to the honorable station as Charioteer-to-the-President. The thousands of homes along his route were decked in his honor, and welcoming heralds rode out from the larger towns to escort their noted guests to celebrations for which preparations had been making for days in advance. The slow moving presidential pageant through Ohio and Pennsylvania was an educational and patriotic ceremony, of not infrequent occurrence in the old coaching days—a worthy exhibition which hardly has its counterpart in these days of steam. Jackson, Van Buren, Monroe, Harrison, Polk and Tyler passed in triumph over portions of the great road.

The taverns at which they were fêted are remembered by the fact. Drivers who were chosen for the task of driving their coach were ever after noted men. But there were other guests than presidents-elect, though none received with more acclaim. Henry Clay, the champion of the road, was a great favorite throughout its towns and hamlets, one of which, Claysville, proudly perpetuates his name. Benton and Cass, Gen. Lafayette, Gen. Santa Anna, Black Hawk, Jenny Lind, P. T. Barnum and J. Q. Adams, are all mentioned in the records of the stirring days of the old road. As has been suggested elsewhere, politics entered largely into the consideration of the building and maintenance of the road. Enemies of internal improvement were not forgotten as they passed along the great road which they voted to neglect, as even Martin Van Buren once realized when the axle of his coach was sawed in two, breaking down where the mud was deepest! Many episodes are remembered, indicating that all the political prejudice and rancor known elsewhere was especially in evidence on this highway, which owed its existence and future to the machinations of politicians.

But the greatest blessing of the National Road was the splendid era of national growth which it did its share toward hastening. Its best friends could see in its decline and decay only evidences of unhappiest fortune, while in reality the great road had done its noble work and was to be superseded by better things which owed to it their coming. Historic roads there had been, before the great highway of America was built, but none in all the past had been the means of supplanting themselves by greater and more efficient means of communication. The far-famed Appian Way witnessed many triumphal processions of consuls and pro-consuls, but it never was the means of bringing into existence something to take its place in a new and more progressive era. It helped to create no free empire at its extremity, and they who traversed it in so much pride and power would find it to-day nothing but a ponderous memorial of their vanity. The National Road was built by the people and for the people, and served well its high purpose. It became a highway for the products of the factories, the fisheries and the commerce of the eastern states. It made possible that interchange of the courtesies of social life

"A Suggestion of a Serious Purpose."

BRIDGE ON THE NATIONAL ROAD IN OHIO.

necessary in a republic of united states. It was one of the great strands which bound the nation together in early days when there was much to excite animosity and provoke disunion. It became the pride of New England as well as of the west which it more immediately benefited; "The state of which I am a citizen," said Edward Everett of Lexington, Kentucky, in 1829, "has already paid between one and two thousand dollars toward the construction and repair of that road; and I doubt not she is prepared to contribute her proportion toward its extension to the place of its destination."[98]

Hundreds of ancient but unpretentious monuments of the old National Road—the hoary mile stones which line it—stand to perpetuate its name in future days. But were they all gathered together—from Indiana and Ohio and Pennsylvania and Virginia and Maryland—and cemented into a monstrous pyramid, the pile would not be appropriate to preserve the name and fame of a highway which "carried thousands of population and millions of wealth into the West, and, more than any other material structure in the land, served to harmonize and strengthen, if not save, the Union!"

What of the future? The dawning of the era of country living is in sight. It is being hastened by the revolution in methods of locomotion. The bicycle and automobile presage an era of good roads, and of an unparalleled countryward movement of society. With this era is coming the revival of inn and tavern life, the rejuvenation of a thousand ancient highways and all the happy life that was ever known along their dusty coils and stretches. By its position with reference to the national capital, and the military and commercial key of the central west, Pittsburg, and both of the great cities of Ohio, the old National Road will become, perhaps, the foremost of the great roadways of America. The bed is capable of being made substantial at a comparatively small cost, as the grading is quiet perfect. Its course measures the shortest possible route practicable for a roadway from tide water to the Mississippi river. As a trunk line its location cannot be surpassed. Its historic associations will render

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[98] *Everett's Speeches and Orations*, Vol. 1, p. 202.

the route of increasing interest to the thousands who, in other days, will travel, in the genuine sense of the word, over those portions of its length which long ago became hallowed ground. The "Shades of Death" will again be filled with the echoing horn which heralded the arrival of the old time coaches, and Winding Ridge again be crowded with the traffic of a nation. A hundred National Road taverns will be opened, and bustling landlords welcome, as of yore, the travel-stained visitor. Merry parties will again fill those tavern halls, now long silent, with their laughter.

And all this will but mark a new and better era than its predecessor, an era of outdoor living, which must come, and come quickly, if as a nation we are to retain our present hold on the world's great affairs.

APPENDIX No. 1.

THE FIRST REFORT OF THE NATIONAL ROAD COMMISSIONERS—1806.

"The commissioners, acting by appointment under the law of Congress, entitled, 'An act to regulate the laying out and making a road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio, beg leave to report to the President of the United States, and to premise that the duties imposed by the law became a work of greater magnitude, and a task much more arduous, than was conceived before entering upon it; from which circumstance the commissioners did not allow themselves sufficient time for the performance of it before the severity of the weather obliged them to retire from it, which was the case in the first week of the present month (December). That, not having fully accomplished their work, they are unable fully to report a discharge of all the duties enjoined by the law; but as the most material and principal part has been performed, and as a communication of the progress already made may be useful and proper, during the present session of Congress, and of the Legislatures of those States through which the route passes, the commissioners respectfully state that at a very early period it was conceived that the maps of the country were not sufficiently accurate to afford a minute knowledge of the true courses between the extreme points on the rivers, by which the researches of the commissioners were to be governed; a survey

for that purpose became indispensable, and considerations of public economy suggested the propriety of making this survey precede the personal attendance of the commissioners.

Josias Thompson, a surveyor of professional merit, was taken into service and authorized to employ two chain carriers and a marker, as well as one vaneman, and a packhorse man and horse, on public account; the latter being indispensable and really beneficial in accelerating the work. The surveyor's instructions are contained in document No. 1, accompanying this report.

Calculating on a reasonable time for the performance of the instructions to the surveyor, the commissioners, by correspondence, fixed on the first day of September last, for their meeting at Cumberland to proceed in the work; neither of them, however, reached that place until the third of that month, on which day they all met.

The surveyor having, under his instructions, laid down a plat of his work, showing the meanders of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, within the limits prescribed for the commissioners, as also the road between those rivers, which is commonly traveled from Cumberland to Charleston, in part called Braddock's road; and the same being produced to the commissioners, whereby straight lines and their true courses were shown between the extreme points on each river, and the boundaries which limit the powers of the commissioners being thereby ascertained, serving as a basis whereon to proceed in the examination of the grounds and face of the country; the commissioners thus prepared commenced the business of exploring; and in this it was considered that a faithful discharge of the discretionary powers vested by the law made it necessary to view the whole to be able to judge of a preference due to any part of the grounds, which imposed a task of examining a space comprehending upwards of two thousand square miles; a task rendered still more incumbent by the solicitude and importunities of the inhabitants of every part of the district, who severally conceived their grounds entitled to a preference. It becoming necessary, in the interim, to run various lines of experiment for ascertaining the geographical position of several points entitled to attention, and the service suffering great delay for want of another surveyor, it was thought consistent with the

public interest to employ, in that capacity, Arthur Rider, the vaneman, who had been chosen with qualification to meet such an emergency; and whose services as vaneman could then be dispensed with. He commenced, as surveyor, on the 22nd day of September, and continued so at field work until the first day of December, when he was retained as a necessary assistant to the principal surveyor, in copying field notes and hastening the draught of the work to be reported.

The proceedings of the commissioners are especially detailed in their general journal, compiled from the daily journal of each commissioner, to which they beg leave to refer, under mark No. 2.

After a careful and critical examination of all the grounds within the limits prescribed, as well as the grounds and ways out from the Ohio westwardly, at several points, and examining the shoal parts of the Ohio river as detailed in the table of soundings, stated in their journal, and after gaining all the information, geographical, general and special, possible and necessary, toward a judicial discharge of the duties assigned them, the commissioners repaired to Cumberland to examine and compare their notes and journals, and determine upon the direction and location of their route.

In this consultation the governing objects were:

1. Shortness of distance between navigable points on the eastern and western waters.

2. A point on the Monongahela best calculated to equalize the advantages of this portage in the country within reach of it.

3. A point on the Ohio river most capable of combining certainty of navigation with road accommodation; embracing, in this estimate, remote points westwardly, as well as present and probable population on the north and south.

4. Best mode of diffusing benefits with least distance of road.

In contemplating these objects, due attention was paid as well to the comparative merits of towns, establishments and settlements already made, as to the capacity of the country with the present and probable population.

In the course of arrangement, and in its order, the first point located for the route was determined and fixed at Cumberland, a decision founded on propriety, and in some measure on

necessity, from the circumstance of a high and difficult mountain, called Nobley, laying and confining the east margin of the Potomac, so as to render it impossible of access on that side without immense expense, at any point between Cumberland and where the road from Winchester to Gwynn's crosses, and even there the Nobley mountain is crossed with much difficulty and hazard. And this upper point was taxed with another formidable objection; it was found that a high range of mountains, called Dan's, stretching across from Gwynn's to the Potomac, above this point, precluded the opportunity of extending a route from this point in a proper direction, and left no alternative but passing by Gwynn's; the distance from Cumberland to Gwynn's being upward of a mile less than from the upper point, which lies ten miles by water above Cumberland, the commissioners were not permitted to hesitate in preferring a point which shortens the portage, as well as the Potomac navigation.

The point of the Potomac being viewed as a great repository of produce, which a good road will bring from the west of Laurel Hill, and the advantages which Cumberland, as a town, has in that respect over an unimproved place, are additional considerations operating forcibly in favor of the place preferred.

In extending the route from Cumberland, a triple range of mountains, stretching across from Jening's run in measure with Gwynn's, left only the alternative of laying the road up Will's creek for three miles, nearly at right angles with the true course, and then by way of Jening's run, or extending it over a break in the smallest mountain, on a better course by Gwynn's, to the top of Savage mountain; the latter was adopted, being the shortest, and will be less expensive in hill-side digging over a sloped route than the former, requiring one bridge over Will's creek and several over Jening's run, both very wide and considerable streams in high water; and a more weighty reason for preferring the route by Gwynn's is the great accommodation it will afford travelers from Winchester by the upper point, who could not reach the route by Jening's run short of the top of Savage, which would withhold from them the benefit of an easy way up the mountain.

It is, however, supposed that those who travel from Win-

"FOUR MILE HOUSE" AT CAMP CHASE, NEAR COLUMBUS.

TOLL HOUSE AND GATE, FRANKLIN COUNTY, OHIO.

HOTEL AT KIRKERSVILLE, OHIO.

PENNSYLVANIA TOLL HOUSE.

chester by way of the upper point to Gwynn's, are in that respect more the dupes of common prejudice than judges of their own ease, as it is believed the way will be as short, and on much better ground, to cross the Potomac below the confluence of the north and south branches (thereby crossing these two, as well as Patterson's creek, in one stream, equally fordable in the same season), than to pass through Cumberland to Gwynn's. Of these grounds, however, the commissioners do not speak from actual view, but consider it a subject well worthy of future investigation. Having gained the top of Alleghany mountain, or rather the top of that part called Savage, by way of Gwynn's, the general route, as it respects the most important points, was determined as follows, viz:

From a stone at the corner of lot No. 1, in Cumberland, near the confluence of Will's creek and the north branch of the Potomac river; thence extending along the street westwardly, to cross the hill lying between Cumberland and Gwynn's, at the gap where Braddock's road passes it; thence near Gwynn's and Jesse Tomlinson's, to cross the big Youghiogheny near the mouth of Roger's run, between the crossing of Braddock's road and the confluence of the streams which form the Turkey foot; thence to cross Laurel Hill near the forks of Dunbar's run, to the west foot of that hill, at a point near where Braddock's old road reached it, near Gist's old place, now Colonel Isaac Meason's, thence through Brownsville and Bridgeport, to cross the Monongahela river below Josias Crawford's ferry; and thence on as straight a course as the country will admit to the Ohio, at a point between the mouth of Wheeling creek and the lower point of Wheeling island.

In this direction of the route it will lay about twenty-four and a half miles in Maryland, seventy-five miles and a half in Pennsylvania, and twelve miles in Virginia; distances which will be in a small degree increased by meanders, which the bed of the road must necessarily make between the points mentioned in the location; and this route, it is believed, comprehends more important advantages than could be afforded in any other, inasmuch as it has a capacity at least equal to any other in extending advantages of a highway; and at the same time establishes the

shortest portage between the points already navigated, and on the way accommodates other and nearer points to which navigation may be extended, and still shorten the portage.

It intersects Big Youghiogheny at the nearest point from Cumberland, then lies nearly parallel with that river from the distance of twenty miles, and at the west foot of Laurel Hill lies within five miles of Connellsville, from which the Youghiogheny is navigated; and in the same direction the route intersects at Brownsville, the nearest point on the Monongahela river within the district.

The improvement of the Youghiogheny navigation, is a subject of too much importance to remain long neglected; and the capacity of that river, as high up as the falls (twelve miles above Connellsville), is said to be equal, at a small expense, with the parts already navigated below. The obstructions at the falls, and a rocky rapid near Turkey Foot, constitute the principal impediments in that river to the intersection of the route, and as much higher as the stream has a capacity for navigation; and these difficulties will doubtles be removed when the intercourse shall warrant the measure.

Under these circumstances the portage may be thus stated:

From Cumberland to Monongahela, sixty-six and one-half miles. From Cumberland to a point in measure with Connelsville ,on the Youghiogeny river, fifty-one and one-half miles. From Cumberland to a point in measure with the lower end of the falls of Youghiogeny, which will lie two miles north of the public road, forty-three miles. From Cumberland to the intersection of the route with the Youghiogheny river, thirty-four miles.

Nothing is here said of the Little Youghiogheny, which lies nearer Cumberland; the stream being unusually crooked, its navigation can only become the work of a redundant population.

The point which this route locates, at the west foot of Laurel Hill, having cleared the whole of the Alleghany mountain, is so situated as to extend the advantages of an easy way through the great barrier, with more equal justice to the best parts of the country between Laurel Hill and the Ohio. Lines from this point to Pittsburg and Morgantown, diverging nearly

at the same angle, open upon equal terms to all parts of the western country that can make use of this portage; and which may include the settlements from Pittsburg, up Big Beaver to the Connecticut reserve, on Lake Erie, as well as those on the southern borders of the Ohio and all the intermediate country.

Brownsville is nearly equi-distant from Big Beaver and Fishing creek, and equally convenient to all the crossing places on the Ohio, between these extremes. As a port, it is at least equal to any on the Monongahela within the limits, and holds superior advantages in furnishing supplies to emigrants, traders, and other travelers by land or water.

Not unmindful of the claims of towns and their capacity of reciprocating advantages on public roads, the commissioners were not insensible of the disadvantage which Uniontown must feel from the want of that accommodation which a more southwardly direction of the route would have afforded; but as that could not take place without a relinquishment of the shortest passage, considerations of public benefit could not yield to feelings of minor import. Uniontown being the seat of justice for Fayette county, Pennsylvania, is not without a share of public benefits, and may partake of the advantages of this portage upon equal terms with Connellsville, a growing town, with the advantage of respectable water-works adjoining, in the manufactury of flour and iron.

After reaching the nearest navigation on the western waters, at a point best calculated to diffuse the benefits of a great highway, in the greatest possible latitude east of the Ohio, it was considered that, to fulfill the objects of the law, it remained for the commissioners to give such a direction to the road as would best secure a certainty of navigation on the Ohio at all seasons, combining, as far as possible, the inland accommodation of remote points westwardly. It was found that the obstructions in the Ohio, within the limits between Steubenville and Grave creek, lay principally above the town and mouth of Wheeling; a circumstance ascertained by the commissioners in their examination of the channel, as well as by common usage, which has long given a decided preference to Wheeling as a place of embarcation and port of departure in dry seasons. It was also

seen that Wheeling lay in a line from Brownsville to the centre of the state of Ohio and Post Vincennes. These circumstances favoring and corresponding with the chief objects in view in this last direction of the route, and the ground from Wheeling westwardly being known of equal fitness with any other way out from the river, it was thought most proper, under these several considerations, to locate the point mentioned below the mouth of Wheeling. In taking this point in preference to one higher up and in the town of Wheeling, the public benefit and convenience were consulted, inasmuch as the present crossing place over the Ohio from the town is so contrived and confined as to subject passengers to extraordinary ferriage and delay, by entering and clearing a ferry-boat on each side of Wheeling island, which lies before the town and precludes the opportunity of fording when the river is crossed in that way, above and below the island. From the point located, a safe crossing is afforded at the lower point of the island by a ferry in high, and a good ford at low water.

The face of the country within the limits prescribed is generally very uneven, and in many places broken by a succession of high mountains and deep hollows, too formidable to be reduced within five degrees of the horizon, but by crossing them obliquely, a mode which, although it imposes a heavy task of hill-side digging, obviates generally the necessity of reducing hills and filling hollows, which, on these grounds, would be an attempt truly Quixotic. This inequality of the surface is not confined to the Alleghany mountain; the country between the Monongahela and Ohio rivers, although less elevated, is not better adapted for the bed of a road, being filled with impediments of hills and hollows, which present considerable difficulties, and wants that super-abundance and convenience of stone which is found in the mountain.

The indirect course of the road now traveled, and the frequent elevations and depressions which occur, that exceed the limits of the law, preclude the possibility of occupying it in any extent without great sacrifice of distance, and forbid the use of it, in any one part for more than half a mile, or more than two or three miles in the whole.

The expense of rendering the road now in contemplation passable, may, therefore, amount to a larger sum than may have been supposed necessary, under an idea of embracing in it a considerable part of the old road; but it is believed that the contrary will be found most correct, and that a sum sufficient to open the new could not be expended on the same distance of the old road with equal benefit.

The sum required for the road in contemplation will depend on the style and manner of making it; as a common road cannot remove the difficulties which always exist on deep grounds, and particularly in wet seasons, and as nothing short of a firm, substantial, well-formed, stone-capped road can remove the causes which led to the measure of improvement, or render the institution as commodious as a great and growing intercourse appears to require, the expense of such a road next becomes the subject of inquiry.

In this inquiry the commissioners can only form an estimate by recurring to the experience of Pennsylvania and Maryland in the business of artificial roads. Upon this data, and a comparison of the grounds and proximity of the materials for covering, there are reasons for belief that, on the route reported, a complete road may be made at an expense not exceeding six thousand dollars per mile, exclusive of bridges over the principal streams on the way. The average expense of the Lancaster, as well as Baltimore and Frederick turnpike, is considerably higher; but it is believed that the convenient supply of stone which the mountain affords will, on those grounds, reduce the expense to the rate here stated.

As to the policy of incurring this expense, it is not the province of the commissioners to declare; but they cannot, however, withhold assurances of a firm belief that the purse of the nation cannot be more seasonably opened, or more happily applied, than in promoting the speedy and effectual establishment of a great and easy road on the way contemplated.

In the discharge of all these duties, the commissioners have been actuated by an ardent desire to render the institution as useful and commodious as possible; and, impressed with a strong sense of the necessity which urges the speedy establishment of

the road, they have to regret the circumstances which delay the completion of the part assigned them. They, however, in some measure, content themselves with the reflection that it will not retard the progress of the work, as the opening of the road cannot commence before spring, and may then begin with making the way.

The extra expense incident to the service from the necessity (and propriety, as it relates to public economy,) of employing men not provided for by law will, it is hoped, be recognized and provision made for the payment of that and similar expenses, when in future it may be indispensably incurred.

The commissioners having engaged in a service in which their zeal did not permit them to calculate the difference between their pay and the expense to which the service subjected them, cannot suppose it the wish or intention of the government to accept of their services for a mere indemnification of their expense of subsistence, which will be very much the case under the present allowance; they, therefore, allow themselves to hope and expect that measures will be taken to provide such further compensation as may, under all circumstances, be thought neither profuse nor parsimonious.

The painful anxiety manifested by the inhabitants of the district explored, and their general desire to know the route determined on, suggested the measure of promulgation, which, after some deliberation, was agreed on by way of circular letter, which has been forwarded to those persons to whom precaution was useful, and afterward sent to one of the presses in that quarter for publication, in the form of the document No. 3, which accompanies this report.

All which is, with due deference, submitted.

ELI WILLIAMS,
THOMAS MOORE,
JOSEPH KERR.

December 30, 1806.

APPENDIX No. 2.

SECOND REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ROAD COMMISSIONERS — 1808.

"The undersigned, commissioners appointed under the law of the United States, entitled 'An act to regulate the laying out and making a road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio,' in addition to the communications heretofore made, beg leave further to report to the President of the United States, that, by the delay of the answer of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to the application for permission to pass the road through that state, the commissioners could not proceed to the business of the road in the spring before vegetation had so far advanced as to render the work of exploring and surveying difficult and tedious, from which circumstance it was postponed till the last autumn, when the business was again resumed. That, in obedience to the special instructions given them, the route heretofore reported has been so changed as to pass through Uniontown, and that they have completed the location, gradation and marking of the route from Cumberland to Brownsville, Bridgeport, and the Monongahela river, agreeably to a plat of the courses, distances and grades in which is described the marks and monuments by which the route is designated, and which is herewith exhibited; that by this plat and measurement it will appear (when compared with the road now traveled) there is a saving of four miles of distance between Cumberland and Brownsville on the new route.

In the gradation of the surface of the route (which became necessary) is ascertained the comparative elevation and depression of different points on the route, and taking a point ten feet above the surface of low water in the Potomac river at Cumberland, as the horizon, the most prominent points are found to be elevated as follows, viz.:

	FEET
Summit of Wills mountain	581.3
Western foot of same	304.4
Summit of Savage mountain	2,022.24
Savage river	1,741.6
Summit Little Savage mountain	1,900.4
Branch Pine Run, first Western water	1,699.9

GENERAL BRADDOCK.

SITE OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT (BRADDOCK, PENNSYLVANIA.)

	FEET
Summit of Red Hill (afterwards called shades of death)	1,914.3
Summit Little Meadow mountain	2,026.16
Little Youghiogheny river	1,322.6
East Fork of Shade run	1,558.92
Summit of Negro mountain, highest point[99]	2,328.12
Middle branch of White's creek, at the west foot of Negro mountain	1,360.5
White's creek	1,195.5
Big Youghiogheny river	645.5
Summit of a ridge between Youghiogheny river and Beaver waters	1,514.5
Beaver Run	1,123.8
Summit of Laurel Hill	1,550.16
Court House in Uniontown	274.65
A point ten feet above the surface of low water in the Monongahela river, at the mouth of Dunlap's creek	119.26

The law requiring the commissioners to report those parts of the route as are laid on the old road, as well as those on new grounds, and to state those parts which require the most immediate attention and amelioration, the probable expense of making the same passable in the most difficult parts, and through the whole distance, they have to state that, from the crooked and hilly course of the road now traveled, the new route could not be made to occupy any part of it (except an intersection on Wills mountain, another at Jesse Tomlinson's, and a third near Big Youghiogheny, embracing not a mile of distance in the whole) without unnecessary sacrifices of distances and expense.

That, therefore, an estimate must be made on the route as passing wholly through new grounds. In doing this the commissioners feel great difficulty, as they cannot, with any degree of precision, estimate the expense of making it merely passable; nor can they allow themselves to suppose that a less breadth than that mentioned in the law was to be taken into the calculation. The rugged deformity of the grounds rendered it impossible to lay a route within the grade limited by law otherwise than by ascending and descending the hills obliquely, by which circumstance a great proportion of the route occupies the sides of the hills, which cannot be safely passed on a road of common breadth,

[99] Keyser's Ridge.

and where it will, in the opinion of the commissioners, be necessary, by digging, to give the proper form of thirty feet, at least in the breadth of the road, to afford suitable security in passing on a way to be frequently crowded with wagons moving in opposite directions, with transports of emigrant families, and droves of cattle, hogs, etc., on the way to market. Considering, therefore, that a road on those grounds must have sufficient breadth to afford ways and water courses, and satisfied that nothing short of well constructed and completely finished conduits can insure it against injuries, which must otherwise render it impassable at every change of the seasons, by heavy falls of rain or melting of the beds of snow, with which the country is frequently covered; the commissioners beg leave to say, that, in a former report, they estimated the expense of a road on these grounds, when properly shaped, made and finished in the style of a stone-covered turnpike, at $6,000 per mile, exclusive of bridges over the principal streams on the way; and that with all the information they have since been able to collect, they have no reason to make any alteration in that estimate.

The contracts authorized by, and which have been taken under the superintendence of the commissioner, Thomas Moore (duplicates of which accompany this report), will show what has been undertaken relative to clearing the timber and brush from part of the breadth of the road. The performance of these contracts was in such forwardness on the 1st instant as leaves no doubt of their being completely fulfilled by the first of March.

The commissioners further state, that, to aid them in the extension of their route, they ran and marked a straight line from the crossing place on the Monongahela, to Wheeling, and had progressed twenty miles, with their usual and necessary lines of experiment, in ascertaining the shortest and best connection of practical grounds, when the approach of winter and the shortness of the days afforded no expectation that they could complete the location without a needless expense in the most inclement season of the year. And, presuming that the postponement of the remaining part till the ensuing spring would produce no delay in the business of making the road, they were induced to retire from it for the present.

The great length of time already employed in this business makes it proper for the commissioners to observe that, in order to connect the best grounds with that circumspection which the importance of the duties confided to them demanded, it became indispensably necessary to run lines of experiment and reference in various directions, which exceed an average of four times the distance located for the route, and that, through a country so irregularly broken, and crowded with very thick underwood in many places, the work has been found so incalculably tedious that, without an adequate idea of the difficulty, it is not easy to reconcile the delay.

It is proper to mention that an imperious call from the private concerns of Commissioner Joseph Kerr, compelled him to return home on the 29th of November, which will account for the want of his signature to this report.

All of which is, with due reference, submitted, this 15th day of January, 1808.

ELI WILLIAMS,
THOMAS MOORE.

APPENDIX No. 3.

APPROPRIATIONS BY CONGRESS AT VARIOUS TIMES FOR MAKING, REPAIRING, AND CONTINUING THE ROAD — AGGREGATE OF APPROPRIATIONS, $6,824,919.33.[100]

1. Act of March 29, 1806, authorizes the President to appoint a commission of three citizens to lay out a road four rods in width "from Cumberland or a point on the northern bank of the river Potomac in the State of Maryland, between Cumberland and the place where the main road leading from Gwynn's to Winchester, in Virginia, crosses the river, * * * to strike the river Ohio at the most convenient place between a point on its eastern bank, opposite the northern boundary of Steubenville and the mouth of Grave creek, which empties into the said river a little below Wheeling, in Virginia." Provides for obtaining the consent of the States through which the road passes, and appropriates for the expense, to be paid

[100] *The Old Pike,* pp. 100–106.

from the reserve fund under the act of April 30, 1802 ..... $30,000 00

2. Act of February 14, 1810, appropriates to be expended under the direction of the President in making the road between Cumberland and Brownsville, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802..... 60,000 00

3. Act of March 3, 1811, appropriates to be expended under the direction of the President, in making the road between Cumberland and Brownsville, and authorizes the President to permit deviation from a line established by the Commissioners under the original act as may be expedient; *Provided*, that no deviation shall be made from the principal points established on said road between Cumberland and Brownsville, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802 ..... 50,000 00

4. Act of February 26, 1812, appropriates balance of a former appropriation not used, but carried to surplus fund 3,786 60

5. Act of May 6, 1812, appropriates to be expended under direction of the President, for making the road from Cumberland to Brownsville, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802..... 30,000 00

6. Act of March 3, 1813 (General Appropriation Bill), appropriates for making the road from Cumberland to the State of Ohio, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802..... 140,000 00

7. Act of February 14, 1815, appropriates to be expended under the direction of the President, for making the road between Cumberland and Brownsville, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802..... 100,000 00

8. Act of April 16, 1816 (General Appropriation Bill), appropriates for making the road from Cumberland to the State of Ohio, to be paid from the fund act April 30, 1802..... 300,000 00

9. Act of April 14, 1818, appropriates to meet claims due and unpaid 52,984 60

Demands under existing contracts..... 260,000 00
from money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

10. Act of March 3, 1819, appropriates for existing claims and contracts 250,000 00

Completing road 285,000 00
To be paid from reserved funds, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

11. Act of May 15, 1820, appropriates for laying out the road between Wheeling, Va., and a point on the left

bank of the Mississippi river, between St. Louis and the mouth of the Illinois river, road to be eighty feet wide and on a straight line, and authorizes the President to appoint Commmissioners. To be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated 10,000 00

12. Act of April 11, 1820, appropriates for completing contract for road from Washington, Pa., to Wheeling, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated 141,000 00

13. Act of February 28, 1823, appropriates for repairs between Cumberland and Wheeling, and authorizes the President to appoint a superintendent at a compensation of $3.00 per day. To be paid out of any money not otherwise appropriated..... 25,000 00

14. Act of March 3, 1825, appropriates for opening and making a road from the town of Canton, in the State of Ohio, opposite Wheeling, to Zanesville, and for the completion of the surveys of the road, directed to be made by the act of May 15, 1820, and orders its extension to the permanent seat of government of Missouri, and to pass by the seats of government of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, said road to commence at Zanesville, Ohio; also authorizes the appointment of a superintendent by the President, at a salary of $1,500 per annum, who shall make all contracts, receive and disburse all moneys, &c.; also authorizes the appointment of one commissioner, who shall have power according to provisions of the act of May 15, 1820; $10,000 of the money appropriated by this act is to be expended in completing the survey mentioned. The whole sum appropriated to be advanced from moneys not otherwise appropriated, and replaced from reserve fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri..... 150,000 00

15. Act of March 14, 1826 (General Appropriation Bill), appropriates for balance due superintendent, $3,000; assistant superintendent, $158.90; contractor, $252.13. 3,411 03

16. Act of March 25, 1826 (Military Service), appropriates for continuation of the Cumberland road during the year 1825..... 110,749 00

17. Act of March 2, 1827 (Military Service), appropriates for construction of road from Canton to Zanesville, and continuing and completing the survey from Zanesville to the seat of government of Missouri, to

be paid from reserve fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri..... 170,000 00

For balance due superintendent, from moneys not otherwise appropriated 510 00

18. Act of March 2, 1827, appropriates for repairs between Cumberland and Wheeling, and authorizes the appointment of a superintendent of repairs, at a compensation to be fixed by the President. To be paid from moneys not otherwise appropriated. The language of this act is, "For repairing the public road from Cumberland to Wheeling"..... 30,000 00

19. Act of May 19, 1828, appropriates for the completion of the road to Zanesville, Ohio, to be paid from fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri 175,000 00

20. Act of March 2, 1829, appropriates for opening road westwardly, from Zanesville, Ohio, to be paid from fund, acts admitting Ohio, Illinois Indiana, and Missouri 100,000 00

21. Act of March 2, 1829, appropriates for opening road eighty feet wide in Indiana, east and west from Indianapolis, and to appoint two superintendents, at $800 each per annum, to be paid from funds, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri..... 51,600 00

22. Act of March 3, 1829, appropriates for repairing bridges &c., on road east of Wheeling..... 100,000 00

23. Act of May 31, 1830 (Internal Improvements), appropriates for opening and grading road west of Zanesville, Ohio, $100,000; for opening and grading road in Indiana, $60,000; commencing at Indianapolis, and progressing with the work to the eastern and western boundaries of said State; for opening, grading, &c., in Illinois, $40,000, to be paid from reserve fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri; for claims due and remaining unpaid on account of road east of Wheeling, $15,000; to be paid from moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated 215,000 00

24. Act of March 2, 1831, appropriates $100,000 for opening, grading, &c., west of Zanesville, Ohio; $950 for repairs during the year 1830; $2,700 for work heretofore done east of Zanesville; $265.85 for arrearages for the survey from Zanesville to the capital of Missouri; and $75,000 for opening, grading, &c., in the State of Indiana, including bridge over White river, near Indianapolis, and progressing to eastern

and western boundaries; $66,000 for opening, grading and bridging in Illinois; to be paid from the fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri 244,915 85

25. Act of July 3, 1832, appropriates $150,000 for repairs east of the Ohio river; $100,000 for continuing the road west of Zanesville; $100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including bridge over east and west branch of White river; $70,000 for continuing road in Illinois; to be paid from the fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois..... 420,000 00

26. Act of March 2, 1833, appropriates to carry on certain improvements east of the Ohio river, $125,000; in Ohio, west of Zanesville, $130,000; in Indiana, $100,000; in Illinois, $70,000; in Virginia, $34,440. 459,440 00

27. Act of June 24, 1834, appropriates $200,000 for continuing the road in Ohio; $150,000 for continuing the road in Indiana; $100,000 for continuing the road in Illinois, and $300,000 for the entire completion of repairs east of Ohio, to meet provisions of the acts of Pennsylvania (April 4, 1831), Maryland (Jan. 23, 1832) and Virginia (Feb. 7, 1832), accepting the road surrendered to the States, the United States not thereafter to be subject for any expense for repairs. Places engineer officer of army in control of road through Indiana and Illinois, and in charge of all appropriations. $300,000 to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, balance from acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois..... 750,000 00

28. Act of June 27, 1837 (General Appropriation), for arrearages due contractors..... 1,609 36

29. Act of March 3, 1835, appropriates $200,000 for continuing the road in the State of Ohio; $100,000 for continuing road in the State of Indiana; to be out of fund acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and $346,186.58 for the entire completion of repairs in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia; but before any part of this sum can be expended east of of the Ohio river, the road shall be surrendered to and accepted by the States through which it passes, and the United States shall not thereafter be subject to any expense in relation to said road. Out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.. 646,186 58

30. Act of March 3, 1835 (Repair of Roads), appropriates to pay for work heretofore done by Isaiah Frost

SUMMIT HOUSE (LAUREL HILL, PENNSYLVANIA).

NATIONAL ROAD ENTERING COLUMBUS FROM THE WEST.
(WEST BROAD STREET.)

SITE OF THE "BLOODY FORD."

	on the Cumberland Road, $320; to pay late Superintendent of road a salary, $862.87	1,182 87
31.	Act of July 2, 1836, appropriates for continuing the road in Ohio, $200,000; for continuing road in Indiana, $250,000, including materials for a bridge over the Wabash river; $150,000 for continuing the road in Illinois, provided that the appropriation for Illinois shall be limited to grading and bridging, and shall not be construed as pledging Congress to future appropriations for the purpose of macadamizing the road, and the moneys herein appropriated for said road in Ohio and Indiana must be expended in completing the greatest possible continuous portion of said road in said States so that said finished part thereof may be surrendered to the States respectively; to be paid from acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri	600,000 00
32.	Act of March 3, 1837, appropriates $190,000 for continuing the road in Ohio; $100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana; $100,000 for continuing road in Illinois, provided the road in Illinois shall not be stoned or graveled, unless it can be done at a cost not greater than the average cost of stoning and graveling the road in Ohio and Indiana, and provided that in all cases where it can be done the work to be laid off in sections and let to the lowest substantial bidder. Sec. 2 of the act provides that Sec. 2 of act of July 2, 1836, shall not be applicable to expenditures hereafter made on the road, and $7,183.63 is appropriated by this act for repairs east of the Ohio river; to be paid from the acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois	397,183 63
33.	Act of May 25, 1838, appropriates for continuing the road in Ohio, $150,000; for continuing it in Indiana, including bridges, $150,000; for continuing it in Illinois, $9,000; for the completion of a bridge over Dunlap's creek at Brownsville; to be paid from moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated and subject to provisions and conditions of act of March 3, 1837	459,000 00
34.	Act of June 17, 1844 (Civil and Diplomatic), appropriates for arrearages on account of survey to Jefferson, Mo	1,359 81
	Total	$6,824,919 33

APPENDIX No. 4.

SPECIMEN ADVERTISEMENT FOR BIDS FOR REPAIRING NATIONAL ROAD IN OHIO — 1838.

Sealed proposals will be received at Toll-gate No. 4, until the 6th day of March next, for repairing that part of the road lying between the beginning of the 23rd and end of the 42nd mile, and if suitable bids are obtained, and not otherwise, contracts will be made at Bradshaw's hotel in Fairview, on the 8th. Those who desire contracts are expected to attend in person, in order to sign their bonds.

On this part of the Road three hundred rods or upwards (82½ cubic feet each) will be required on each mile, of the best quality of lime-stone, broken evenly into blocks not exceeding four ounces in weight, each; and specimens of the material proposed, must be furnished, in quantity not less than six cubic inches, broken and neatly put up in a box, and accompanying each bid; which will be returned and taken as the standard, both as it regards the quality of the material and the preparation of it at the time of measurement and inspection.

The following conditions will be mutually understood as entering into, and forming a part of the contract, namely: The 23, 24 and 25 miles to be ready for measurement and inspection on the 25th of July; the 26, 27 and 28 miles on the 1st of August; the 29, 30 and 31 miles on the 15th of August; the 32, 33 and 34 miles on the 1st of September; the 35, 36, 37 miles on the 15th of September; the 38, 39 and 40 miles on the 1st of October; and the 41 and 42 miles, if let, will be examined at the same time.

Any failure to be ready for inspection at the time above specified, will incur a penalty of five per cent. for every two days' delay, until the whole penalty shall amount to 25 per cent. on the contract paid. All the piles must be neatly put up for measurement and no pile will be measured on this part of the work containing less than five rods. Whenever a pile is placed upon deceptive ground, whether discovered at the time of measurement or afterward, half its contents shall in every case be forfeited for the use of the road.

Proposals will also be received at the American Hotel in Columbus, on the 15th of March for hauling broken materials from the penitentiary east of Columbus. Bids are solicited on the 1, 2 and 3 miles counting from a point near the Toll-gate towards the city. Bids will also be received at the same time and place, for collecting and breaking all the old stone that lies along the roadside, between Columbus and Kirkersville, neatly put in piles of not less than two rods, and placed on the outside of the ditches.

APPENDIX No. 5.

ADVERTISEMENT FOR PROPOSALS FOR BUILDING A NATIONAL ROAD BRIDGE AND FOR TOLL HOUSES IN OHIO — 1837.

Proposals will also be received in Zanesville on Monday the 1st day of May next, at Roger's Tavern, for rebuilding the Bridge over Salt Creek, nine miles east of Zanesville. The structure will be of wood, except some stone work to repair the abutments. A plan of the Bridge, together with a bill for the timber, &c., can be seen at the place of letting after the 24th inst. Conditions with regard to proposals the same as above.

At the same time and place, proposals will likewise be received, for building three or four Toll gates and Gate Houses between Hebron, east of Columbus, and Jefferson, west of it. The house of frame with stone foundations, and about 13 by 24 feet, one story high, and completely finished. Bills of timber, stone, &c., will be furnished, and particulars made known, by calling on the undersigned, at Rodger's Tavern, in Zanesville after the 24th inst. In making bids conditions the same as above.

All letters must be post-paid, or no attention shall be given to them.

THOMAS M. DRAKE, *Superintendent.*

P. S. — Proposals will also be received at Columbus, on Monday, the 17th of April, for repairing the National Road between Kirkersville and Columbus — by William B. Vanhook, Superintendent.

April 12.

WILLIAM WALL, *A. C. B. P. W.*

APPENDIX No. 6.

ADVERTISEMENT OF NATIONAL ROAD TAVERN IN OHIO — 1837.

Tavern Stand for Sale or Rent. — A valuable Tavern Stand Sign of the Harp, consisting of 25½ acres of choice land partly improved, and a dwelling house, together with three front lots. This eligible and healthy situation lies 8 miles east of Columbus City, the capital of Ohio, on the National Road leading to Zanesville, at Big Walnut Bridge. The stand is well supplied with several elegant springs.

It is unnecessary to comment on the numerous advantages of this interesting site. The thoroughfare is great, and the growing prospects beyond calculation. For particulars inquire of

Dec. 4–14. T. ARMSTRONG, Hibernia.

FISH-HOOKS FOUND AT THE BAUM VILLAGE SITE.

A Comparison with Those Found at Madisonville and Other Parts of the State.

BY W. C. MILLS.*

The Baum Prehistoric Village Site is situated in the western part of Ross County, Ohio, near the small village of Bournville, and is located upon one of the gravel terraces in the valley of Paint Creek. For two years, during the months of July and August, the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society has been exploring in this village site. Numerous refuse heaps, refuse pits, and burials have been brought to light. The refuse pits were holes dug in the ground, varying in depth from three to seven feet, and in width, from two to four feet. Most of them were circular and bell shaped, the larger diameter being at the bottom. The refuse heaps seemed to be placed in shallow places; the dirt no doubt having been removed for use in building the mound, which is near by and which the village site surrounds. These pits and heaps evidently contain all of the refuse from the camp. Here the specimens of fish-hooks, which I have for your inspection, were found. Upward of 40 specimens, representing perfect and broken pieces, and specimens showing the various stages of manufacture, were found.

I have brought with me twelve fish-hooks, which I think will show all the forms which we have found. The bones selected for the manufacture of these hooks were the meta-carpal, meta-tarsel and rib bone of the deer, and the tibio-tarsus of various birds.

Card No. 1 represents three perfect specimens made from the tibio-tarsus of some bird, perhaps that of the wild turkey; as many of the unfinished specimens show that this bone was very frequently used. These carefully worked and polished hooks have straight and rounded shanks. Two of them having grooves cut in the upper part of the shank; and the other one having the

* Curator Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

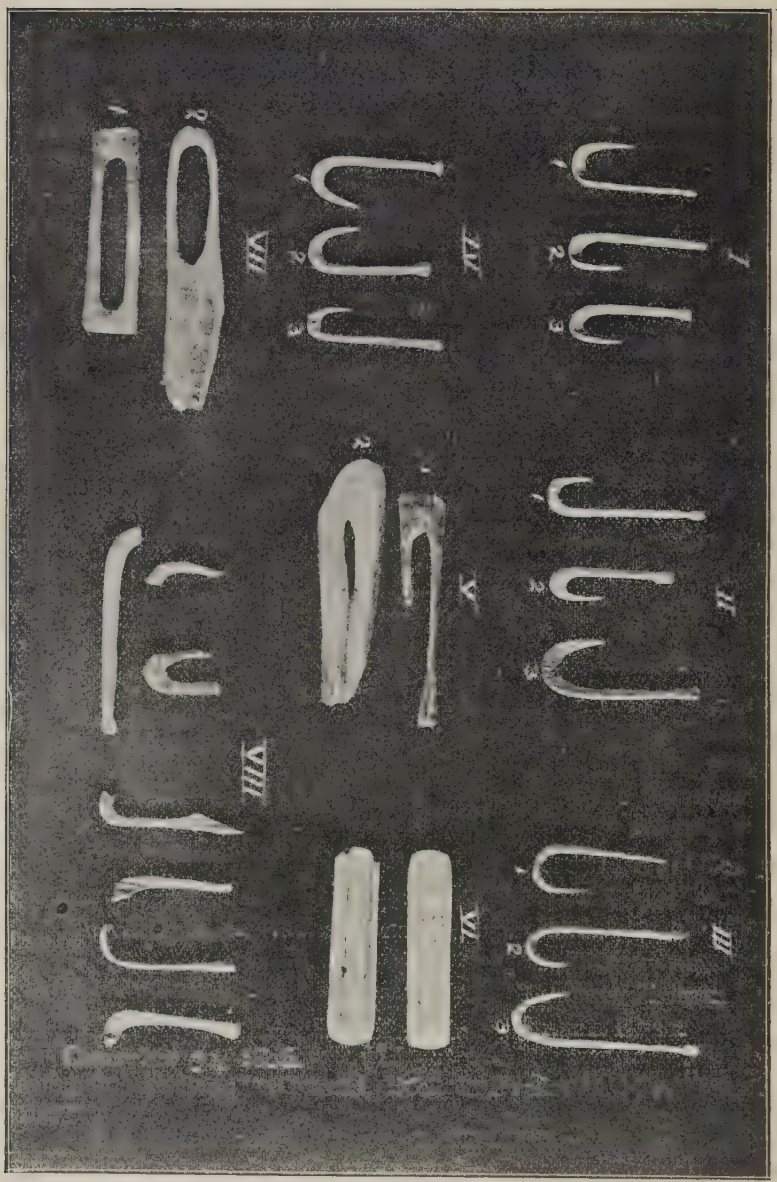
shank enlarged at the upper end. All of these have very sharp points. The point of No. 3, of card No. 1, owing to the curvature of the bone, is not in the same plane as the shank. All of these specimens show, at the base, the marrow cavity of the bone. No. 1 was taken from a refuse heap, Nos. 2 and 3 from the refuse pits.

On card No. 2 three specimens are shown. These are made of the rib bone of some animal, presumably the deer. No. 1 has a long shank, in proportion to the size of the hook. The upper part of the shank has a crease cut entirely around, for attachment. The specimen shows the cellular portion of the bone. No. 2 is the smallest hook that we have so far found. No. 3 is quite a large hook, and well wrought; but is somewhat rough from the decay of the bone. This hook was found in a refuse heap, while Nos. 1 and 2 were found in the refuse pits.

Card No. 3 contains three hooks. Nos. 1 and 2 represent masterpieces in the art of fish-hook making. No. 1 presents a perfectly fresh appearance, and is of fine workmanship, and well polished. The shank is flat, with rounded edges, and with a well cut groove in its upper end, and has a very sharp point. No. 2 is another well wrought specimen. The bone seems perfectly fresh, and in general workmanship, perhaps excels any that we have so far found. It has a round shank, with a well cut groove in the upper end. The point of the hook is sharp and nicely polished. No. 3 is quite a large hook, with a slim, round shank, and enlarged at the upper end. The point of this hook is not in the same plane with the shank, owing to the curvature of the bone.

Card No. 4 contains three hooks finely made. No. 1 has a round shank with an enlarged end, and finely polished point. No. 2 is similar to No. 1, but has a stronger shank. No. 3 has a very slender shank, with an enlarged top. All three of these hooks were found in the refuse pits.

In almost every respect we find that the fish hooks found at the Baum Prehistoric Village Site resemble those found at Madisonville, and others found in various parts of the State of Ohio. In the refuse pits we were also fortunate in finding the fish-hook in its various stages of manufacture. And it seems,



from these pieces showing the various stages of manufacture, that the maker had in mind a well defined plan, and proceeded to work it out in bone to the best advantage.

On card No. 5 two specimens are shown which illustrate the manner in which the bone was worked. No. 1 shows the shank almost completed, and the point of the hook not yet finished. In No. 2 the base of the hook has been worked out, and the cutting away of the bone, forming the shank and hook, has commenced.

In card No. 6 two specimens are shown which are cut from the tibio-tarsus of the bird. These were evidently intended to be made into fish-hooks, by cutting out the inside of the bone, as shown in card No. 7. Here, as shown in No. 1, is a piece almost finished, ready to be cut into hooks. This could be done by cutting one side nearer to one end, and also, at the same time, cutting the other side in a manner corresponding to the first cut. Thus two hooks could be produced instead of one. No. 2 shows that the maker had in view the same purpose as in No. 1, and that No. 2 had not proceeded as far as No. 1, the end had not yet been cut off.

At Madisonville, Prof. Putnam found that the aboriginal fish-hook makers had proceeded to make his hooks in a very much different manner. He first bored a hole through the bone, and the hook was wrought from this hole. Prof. Putnam has fully described the stages of fish-hook manufacture at Madisonville, in an article on "The Way Fish-hooks were Made in the Little Miami Valley," which appears in the Twentieth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum. In no instance have I been able to find at the Baum Village Site, any bone that has been perforated by drilling, to be used in the manufacture of fish-hooks. In the article referred to, by Prof. Putnam, he also describes two perfect fish-hooks, and one in the process of manufacture, which were taken from an ancient burial place along the Little Miami River, by Dr. Metz, which differs from those found in the ash pits at Madisonville. He says: "At this burial place there is an extensive refuse pile, and while many skeletons have been found during our recent explorations, we have not discovered a single

ash pit, so that as far as burial customs are determined, it is likely that distinct tribes lived at the two places, probably at different times."

From Prof. Putnam's description, the fish-hooks found by Dr. Metz were manufactured similar to those found at the Baum Prehistoric Village Site; while at this village were found the refuse pits, and refuse piles in close proximity to each other. The implements, ornaments, pottery, and various bones of animals found therein were similar in every respect. So that I am inclined to think that the people that made the refuse pits and refuse piles are one and the same people, and that the pits and piles were made during the occupancy of the village by these people.

I also call your attention to card No. 8. These specimens show where the fish-hooks usually break. Out of the forty specimens found, about two-fifths of them were broken in the manner as shown in card No. 8; and only one, as shown in the center of card No. 8, shows that the shank was broken. There is no doubt but that fish furnished a part at least, of the food of the people living in this village, for in these refuse pits quantities of the bones of various kinds of fishes were found.

[The above article was read by Mr. Mills before Section "H" American Association for the Advancement of Sciences at its meeting held in Baltimore, Md., December 28, 1900.]

COMMENTS, NOTES AND REVIEWS.

E. O. Randall
Editor.

THWING'S SKETCH OF OHIO.

In Pearson's Monthly for February is the first of a series of articles which that magazine proposes to publish on "The Story of the States." This first article very fittingly is devoted to Ohio. It is from the pen of Charles F. Thwing, D. D., LL. D., President of the Western Reserve University at Cleveland, Ohio. It is a very entertaining and informing monograph on our native state. In a condensed form, Mr. Thwing gives the leading events in rapid succession in Buckeye history.

"As to who were the first inhabitants of the Ohio Valley," Mr. Thwing says, "scientific research has never enabled us to give a reasonable guess although the facts are buried with the unwritten records of a long-vanished race. There are records in abundance, however, such as the mounds in Adams County and at Marietta, and, in fact, all through the river valley, which indicate that the land was once inhabited by a race superior to the Indians in intelligence, if not in prowess. Over ten thousand of these mounds have been located in different parts of the state. Many of them have been found to contain neatly fashioned implements, and from the fact that some appear to have been raised as fortifications, it is presumed that these mound builders were forced to defend themselves from enemies, perhaps from the Indians, who later occupied the valley, and who may have annihilated them, or driven them out of the region. At any rate they disappeared long before the era of historical record. Even before the time of this prehistoric race, the geologists tell us Ohio was the scene of mighty conflicts between the rival forces of nature. At one time, the whole region embraced within the borders of the state was covered with a vast sheet of ice half a mile in thickness. This ice-field, as it receded, piled up a great dam, five or six hundred feet in height, across the Ohio River, at the point where Cincinnati now stands, backing up the waters of the river, and forming a great lake, which extended for many miles. The trial of strength between this dam and the waters which it restricted probably lasted for hundreds of years, but in the end the river triumphed and broke through the barrier in a tremendous flood, which must have surpassed in destructive power anything of the kind that has been witnessed within the historic period. This, the first of many Ohio floods, must have swept away any inhabitants living at that time in the valley."

Whether there were any native Ohioans before or at the time of this ice gorge is a debatable question among scientists, but whether there were or not "cuts no ice" with the present generation.

Mr. Thwing takes up and cursorily disposes of the native Indians and the various immigrations into the territory that later became the state; the English and French traders, the expedition of Celoron De Bienville from Canada in 1749, the first Ohio Company of 1750 and the opposing English expedition at the instance of Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, who sent a message ordering the French off the Ohio (?) grass. "The bearer of this message," says Mr. Thwing, was "Adjutant General George Washington of the Virginia Militia, who thus made his appearance in early Ohio history." Then follows the contest between the English and the French for possession of the country and the cession by France to Great Britain of her claim to the territory in 1763. Four colonies (Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut) subsequently laid claim to this part of the country. The ordinance of 1787 established the Northwest Territory and the various settlements from the east and the south rapidly followed. The Ohio Company of 1787–8 at Marietta, the French settlement at Gallipolis, (1790), the New England settlements along the Western Reserve and the rapid and marvellous opening up of the territory until the entrance of Ohio as a state into the Union. Mr. Thwing then selects the more prominent and picturesque events along the course to the present time. He sketches with a fluent and racy pen the agricultural, commercial, educational and political development of what is now the fourth star in the constellation of our Union. Many of the leading personages in this graphic panorama are spoken of and characterized. The article does not attempt or pretend to be an exhaustive history, nor present scholarly data for the accurate student. Mr. Thwing admirably accomplishes his purpose to give a sketchy silhouette of Ohio from its beginning to the present day. It is artistically done and gives one an excellent idea of the wonderful growth and striking prominence of our state. No one can read this article without having his state pride raised to its proper pitch.

These pages in Pearson recall to us an incident in our own experience, when a few years ago we met in one of the foreign capitals a member of the House of Lords. During the conversation his lordship asked what part of America we were from. We informed him with much gusto that we were from Ohio. "Ohio, Ohio," said he. "Seems to me we have heard that name before. Let me see; I think I saw something about that place in one of our American almanacs recently. It is a little town up in Canada, is it not?" We hastened to set his lordship right and we not only revolutionized his knowledge of geography, but we upset one of his fundamental principles of mathematics, viz.: that the whole is greater than a part, for we convinced him in short order that Ohio was greater than all the rest of the United States. We informed him that Ohio was not only the great state in mineral, agricultural and industrial resources,

but that it furnished "the people" of the country; it produced all the leading politicians, statesmen, orators, presidents, generals, cabinet officers, foreign embassadors, poets, novelists, journalists, humorists, inventors, that it supplied the main part of the Union army and practically put down the rebellion and was now "the mainstay and prop of the nation." It was the first time in the career of "me lud" that his British bluff and bluster had encountered a specimen of Buckeye bravado. When we finished our descriptive discourse on Ohio, his lordship was as dazed as if wandering in a London fog, indeed he quite "lost his balance" and with great difficulty moved off in his accustomed aristocratic and commanding perpendicularity.

Mr. Thwing wields a facile, felicitous and prolific pen. It is natural to him. He began when he and the writer were classmates and co-editors of *The Philo Mirror*—the literary organ and intellectual outlet of the students of the time honored preparatory school, Phillips Academy, (Andover, Mass.). That was a long time ago—we were "Middlers" then, "fitting" for college. Thwing still writes and writes well. His article on Ohio would be an excellent stimulus to the young to study the romantic and valuable history of our state.

HISTORY OF ADAMS COUNTY.

We acknowledge the receipt of a history of Adams County from its earliest settlement to the present time by Capt. Nelson W. Evans, a prominent attorney of Portsmouth, a life member of The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, and Hon. Emmons B. Stivers, a member of the present legislature from Adams County, and the author of "Outlines of the United States History," "Recreation in School Studies," and other well known educational works.

It is one of the best books of its kind that has come under our eye, and is really a valuable contribution to the historical literature of Ohio, particularly the southern part of the state.

The historical portion of the work is by Capt. Evans, and is of a literary merit of high order. Capt. Evans has the true historical instinct, has accurately gathered his data and carefully classified it. He devotes a chapter to the geology and the mineralogy of the county. He presents a most interesting and complete sketch of that interesting race known as the Mound Builders, who left in Adams County some of the most remarkable evidences of their peculiar traits that are to be found in any part of the country. His description of the Great Serpent mound is one of the best to be found in any publication and gives to his book a distinct value. Speaking of the Mound Builders, he says: "Whence they came is enveloped in impenetrable mystery. Some have supposed them to be the lost tribes of Israel, which hardly deserves passing notice. Others, and there is much to sustain the theory, suppose them to be of Mexican

origin, having pushed gradually to the northward, where in time, they were assailed by invaders from the northwest, who perhaps came from Asia when that continent was united in the region of Alaska to America, and who by reason of superior numbers or more warlike natures swept these people in turn back to the southward. At what period of time these people flourished, or when they ceased to be, is problematical. The Indians had no tradition concerning them. In fact, it is very generally believed by those who have investigated the matter, that there was at least one intervening race of inhabitants in the Mississippi Valley prior to the advent of the Indians and following the disappearance of the Mound Builders. We refer to 'The Villagers' who formed the 'garden beds' found in northern Indiana, southern Michigan and lower Missouri. These 'beds' are laid out with great order and symmetry and do not belong to any recognized system of horticulture. They are in the richest soils and occupy from ten acres to three hundred acres each. That they are the work of a race succeeding the Mound Builders is evidenced by the fact, that some of these 'garden beds' extend over mounds which certainly would not have been permitted by their builders. Again, the formation of these 'beds' cannot be ascribed to the Indians, for no such system of cultivating grain or plant foods was practiced by them. And again, when the white man's attention was first called to the numerous mounds and enclosures in the Ohio Valley as being the work of an extinct race, it was observed that forest growths over these works were of the same species as those in the outlying regions, which would prove the great antiquity of these structures. On some of these mounds, as for instance, one at Marietta, were found trees showing 800 annual growths."

Capt. Evans has an interesting chapter on the Indians, the principal tribes that inhabited Ohio, their mode of living and the pioneer expeditions against them and their final disappearance from Ohio. He devotes much space to the Virginia Military District, its first survey, the manner of making the surveys and various surveying parties, and the system of entering and recording land patents. Then comes in natural sequence various settlements in the southern part of the state. He gives in much detail the civil organization in the Northwest Territory particularly of Adams County, its courts, townships and the political organizations pertaining thereto. He describes the establishment of the public roads and highways. He has an interesting account of the early taverns and inns, with many anecdotal and historical incidents. The numerous biographical sketches of the pioneers which occupies most of the volume, are interestingly told and are replete with valuable historical facts and data. The work comprises nearly a thousand pages and is produced in the best mechanical art of the publisher.

HISTORY OF HARRISON COUNTY.

There has also just been issued from the press the "Historical Collections of Harrison County," with lists of the first land owners, early marriages (to 1841), will records (to 1861), burial records of the early settlers and numerous genealogies, by Charles A. Hanna. This volume of some 650 pages is mainly a publication of the records indicated in the title. Mr. Hanna devotes his opening chapter to the Scotch-Irish in Harrison County. He says, "The truth of the matter is, that a vast proportion of American people sometimes classed by the historians as British, have had their hard-earned laurels transferred to the brows of the so-called Anglo-Saxons, or English; and very much of the honor and glory which are so frequently claimed for the English in this country, really belong to the people of another, and a distinctly different race. These people are the Scotch-Irish, as they have come to be called, who have done vastly more in the settlement and development of the central and southern portions of our country than the English, and yet a people who have been too busy making history to spare the time to write it; and one whose early annals, for this reason, have been, until recent years, so far neglected as to be well-nigh forgotten."

He then gives a long list of the distinguished Buckeyes whose blood classes them with this famous intermixture. In this list he names "Arthur St. Clair, Jeremiah Morrow, Allen Trimble, Duncan McArthur, Joseph Vance, Wilson Shannon, Mordecai Bartley, Reuben Wood, Rutherford B. Hayes, Seabury Ford, William Medill, James E. Campbell, Thomas L. Young, Joseph B. Foraker, Charles Foster, William McKinley and of some few others who have been governors of the state. Or, of Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield and McKinley. Or, of certain supreme court judges, such as Jacob Burnet, John McLean, Joseph R. Swan, John C. Wright, Thomas W. Bartley, W. B. Caldwell, William Kennon, Hocking H. Hunter, George W. McIlvaine, W. J. Gilmore, Rufus P. Ranney, Josiah Scott, John Clark, W. W. Johnson and John H. Doyle. Or, of certain well-known journalists, such as Whitelaw Reid, W. L. Brown, John A. Cockerill, Joseph Medill, Samuel Medary, W. W. Armstrong, the Farans and McLeans, and Richard Smith. Or, of Bishop Simpson, John A. Bingham and Salmon P. Chase. Or, William Dean Howells and John Q. A. Ward. Or, Generals U. S. Grant, Phil Sheridan, Quincy A. Gilmore, James B. Steadman, Irvin McDowell, John Beatty, O. M. Mitchell, James B. McPherson, Henry W. Lawton and the fighting family of the McCooks."

Mr. Hanna also has valuable chapters on "The Friends or Quakers of Harrison County," and on the Germans and Virginians; also, on the first settlers in Eastern Ohio. He devotes much space to the early days of Cadiz, the county seat, and Harrison County in 1813, and the early churches of the various denominations represented in the pioneer days. His book represents a vast amount of labor in gathering and transcrib-

ing the records with innumerable brief sketches of the leading settlers. This material will be of great value to genealogists and biographers. It is rich in concise descriptions of pioneer life, its perils and hardships and detailed accounts of the settlement and growth of the older communities and institutions of the county; and it is perhaps, not too much to say that this book contains more information and data relative to the history of the various families of the county in question that is usually given in county histories. As a sample of the extent of the work, the list of early marriages in the county numbers 7,500 and their early burials 5,000. The book is produced in attractive binding and will fill a valuable place in the historical biography of Ohio.

THE MOUND BUILDERS.

A late number of *The Northwest Magazine* has a review of a noteworthy paper read recently before the Minnesota Historical Society by J. V. Brower, of St. Paul. The reviewer of the paper states that Mr. Brower presented evidence tending to show that the Mound Builders of Minnesota were none other than the old, full blooded Sioux Indians. He traced these aborigines back to their ancient habitations and villages. and in the course of his researches arrived at some surprising conclusions. After describing every tribe of Indians known to have been permanent residents of the region explored, Mr. Brower gave his attention to the geological age of the lakes, the surface of the ground, and to the rivers, creeks and other streams.

It was shown distinctly, he says, that the mounds were built on the top of the black soil and of that material, indicating that hundreds of them are of more recent origin than many suppose. From the numerous village sites there have been collected stone, copper, flint and earthen objects and artifacts which are exactly similar to the same kind of material taken from the mounds adjoining the village sites. That fact shows that the people who built the mounds also occupied the ancient villages.

Each of the village sites discovered has been explored and charted. By the side of the chart of 1900 the Fauquelin chart of 1688 was placed, and it was distinctly demonstrated by the two charts that the Sioux villagers residing in Mille Lacs in 1688 were resident at identical places where the village sites were observed in 1900.

The next proposition submitted was proof from the records left by Radisson, Hennepin, Duluth, Le Sueur and Carver that the Sioux made and used stone implements, clay pots, copper crescents, flint knives, quartz arrow points, and various stone and copper objects, following which it was demonstrated beyond dispute that the Sioux removed the flesh from the remains of their dead and deposited the bones, in a bundled condition, with the skull. Catlin's works were here produced to show that as late as 1835 the Sioux were building mounds over their

dead. A chart was shown delineating the bundled bones of Indians at the surface of the ground at Mille Lacs, with mounds of earth built over them.

James W. Lynd, historian of the Sioux nation, was quoted showing that the Dakota people were at Mille Laces at a very ancient period; in fact, so long ago that no tradition remained to show where they came from or how long they had been there.

No trace of two distinct classes of stone implements and earthen pots had been found at Mille Lacs, and the only island in the region where the Sioux had a village, to which Hennepin was taken in 1680, is overspread with broken clay vessels and stone implements.

PRE-HISTORIC BILL OF FARE.

A recent number of *Chamber's Journal* has an interesting article concerning what might be styled the *menu* of the pre-historic man. The article says:

Our attention has recently been called to some curious experiments conducted some time ago by Mr. Charters White, M. R. C. S., lately the president of the Royal Odontological Society of Great Britain. Upon examining some skulls dating back from the stone age, he noted that several of the teeth, although quite free from caries, were thickly coated with tartar. It occurred to him that it would be possible by a rough analysis to identify any particles of food that might be embodied in this natural concrete, and so reveal the character of the aliment partaken of by pre-historic man. Dissolving the tartar in weak acid, a residue was left which, under the microscope, was found to consist of corn husks, particles, hairs from the outside of the husks, spiral vessels from vegetables, particles of starch, the point of a fish tooth, a conglomeration of oval cells, probably of fruit, the barblets of down and portions of wool. In addition to this varied list were some round, red bodies, the origin of which defied detection, and many sandy particles, some relating to quartz and some to flint. These mineral fragments were very likely attributable to the rough stones used in grinding the corn, and would account for the erosion of the masticating surfaces, which in many cases was strongly marked. This inquiry into food of men who lived not less than 4,000 years ago is a matter of archæological interest.

OHIO PRESIDENTS.

The inauguration of William McKinley on March 4th and the death of Benjamin Harrison, on March 14th leads to the inquiry from several quarters concerning the date and place of birth of the so-called "Ohio Presidents."

We give them in order of their succession:

Ulysses S. Grant, born April 27, 1822, at Point Pleasant. (Clermont Co.). Nominated from Illinois at Chicago, May 20, 1868. Inaugurated March 4, 1869. Renominated, Philadelphia, June 5, 1872. Inauguarted March 4, 1873. Died at Mount Gregor, N. Y., July 23, 1885. Buried Riverside Park, New York, August 8, 1885.

Rutherford B. Hayes, born October 4, 1822, Delaware, (Delaware Co.) Nominated at Cincinnati June 14, 1876. Inaugurated March 5, 1877. Died Fremont, Ohio, January 17, 1893. Buried Fremont.

James A. Garfield, born November 19, 1831, at Orange, (Cuyahoga Co.). Nominated Chicago, June 8, 1880. Inaugurated March 4, 1881. Died September 19, 1881, at Elberon, N. J. Buried Cleveland, Ohio.

Benjamin Harrison born August 20, 1833, North Bend, (Hamilton Co.) Nominated from Indiana, at Chicago, June 26, 1888. Inaugurated March 3, 1889. Renominated Minneapolis, June 10, 1892. Defeated. Died Indianapolis, Indiana, March 14, 1901. Buried at Indianapolis.

William McKinley, born January 29, 1843, Niles, (Trumbull Co.). Nominated St. Louis, June 18, 1896. Inaugurated March 4, 1897. Renominated Philadelphia, June 19, 1900. Inaugurated March 4, 1901.

COLONEL CHARLES PARROTT.

Colonel Charles Parrott, one of the original members and a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and for many years one of its active trustees, died at his home, Columbus, Ohio, January 22, 1901. Colonel Parrott was born in Dayton, Ohio, September 2, 1834. A brief sketch of his life will be found in Vol. IV, page 470, of the Society's publications. The last few years of his life were devoted to the work incidental to his membership in the Ohio State Board of Charities, to which position he was at first appointed by Governor Foraker in 1889. He was an earnest student in the subject of public charities, and had become by both study and experience, one of the best authorities in matters of the conduct of eleemosynary institutions. Colonel Parrott was a graduate of the Ohio Wesleyan University and the Cincinnati Law School, and was a gentleman of much learning and culture.

By authority of the Ohio 74th General Assembly (1900–1), Elliot Howard Gilkey, Assistant Clerk of the Senate, has prepared and published the Ohio Manual of Legislative Practice. The contents are divided into five subjects. 1. Constitution of the State of Ohio, with annotations by E. O. Randall, Reporter of the Supreme Court. 2. Legislative Sections of the Revised Statutes. 3. Rules of Legislative Practice. 4 and 5. Official Directory of the Senate and House of Representatives of the 74th General Assembly. The work comprises some 540 pages, and the biographical sketches of members of the Legislature are accompanied

by half page portraits. Mr. Gilkey has edited his part of the work in an accurate and admirable manner. The manual is a most valuable book, not only to members of the Legislature but to members of the legal profession in general.

A LITTLE pamphlet entitled "Tract No. 90 in Volume 4," has just been issued by the Western Reserve Historical Society. It is prepared by J. P. McLean, Ph. D., Secretary of the Society. It is devoted to the archæological collections of the society, giving at some length lists and desscriptions of the archæological relics collected and now exhibited by that society. It is profusely illustrated and valuable to the archæ–æologicalist, and particularly the collector. It is something more than a catalogue, for it not only fully describes the relics in the possession of this society, but it tells where they were found, and so far as possible the mode of their manufacture and their use in the domestic life of the Indians and the Mound Builders. The Western Reserve Historical Society is very rich in its collections of this character.

THERE has recently been published a most attractive volume of stories, legends, historical sketches, poetic and prose selections, concerning the Ohio Valley. The work is entitled "The Hesperian Tree" — edited by one of the most distinguished Ohio literateurs, John James Piatt. The aim of the editor has been, as he says in his preface, to offer to the public a magazine of literature miscellanies in prose and verse, the contributors to which are native to, or identified with the Ohio valley. The literary articles are accompanied in many cases by beautiful illustrations by artists also "native and to the manner born." The volume is a gem in typographical and publisher's art. Each article is by some well known or eminent writer, and the table of contents presents a literary feast, calculated to furnish great pleasure and profit to the patron or lover of what might be called Ohio literature. The contributions were prepared exclusively for this publication, and do not appear elsewhere. Among the writers are such names as William Dean Howells, James Whitcomb Riley, Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Henry Watterson, William Henry Venable, Maurice Thompson, Murat Halstead, John Hay, the Piatts and a score of others almost equally well known. This volume will be a welcome guest to the libraries of choice literature.